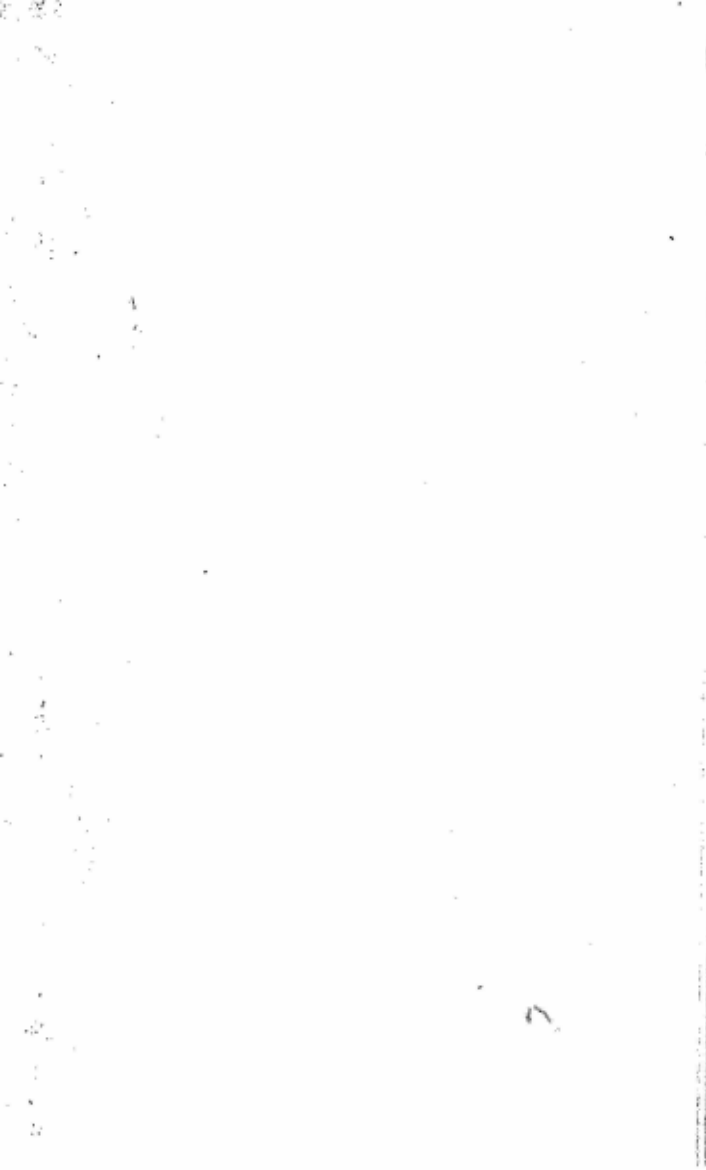


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# THE HOYSALAS



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# THE HOYSALAS

*A Medieval Indian Royal Family*

BY

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## A COURT POET'S TRIBUTE

*A 13th century conceit in Sanskrit*

Ballāḷa-kṣōṇipāla tvad-ahita-nagarē sañcaranti Kirātī  
kīrṇāny = ālokyā ratnāny = urutara-khadirāṅgāra-śaṅkākulāṅgi  
mahnā śrī-khaṇḍa-khaṇḍam tad-upari mukulī-bhūta-nētrā

śvāsāmōdānuyātair madhukara-nikarair dhūma-śaṅkāṁ dhamanti  
bibharti.  
ANON.

A forest-dwelling maiden shy  
Roams in the city of thy foe—  
Ballāḷa, who art lord of all!—  
A noble city left to die.  
Her eye is caught by flashing fire  
From gems dropped heedless on the ground—  
She fancies charcoal embers spread,  
And quickly, lest they first expire,  
Blows on them tiny sandal-chips,  
Her eyes half-closed against the ash:  
No incense rises, but a swarm  
Of bees seeks fragrance from her lips.  
They hover close: she thinks them smoke.  
(Strange errors thy just wars provoke!)

J.D.M.D.



## PREFACE

The object of this book is to present a bird's eye view of the work of a medieval Hindu king, that is to say, the head of a Hindu state after the age of the continental empires and the Śaka and Hūna invasions but before the intrusion of Muslim dynasties had produced the characteristic distractions in Hindu society with which Indian historians are familiar. The special usefulness of the Hoysaṣas for this purpose is explained in the first chapter.

The research upon which this work is chiefly based was done under the patient and meticulous supervision of Dr L. D. Barnett and culminated in a thesis, submitted in 1949, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts in the University of London.\* That thesis was framed rather as an essay in South Indian, particularly Kārṇāṭaka, epigraphy with a particular emphasis on the geography of the regions in question, and as such it would be likely to interest a comparatively small number of specialists. The story which emerged in the course of research and which answered the questions which had attracted the author's curiosity, namely, who were the Hoysaṣas, where did they come from, and why finally did they disappear, is likely to be of interest to a much wider public because it is typical of the stories of Hindu royal families, whose characteristics were peculiar to the Hindu civilization and yet had significant points of similarity as well as aspects for comparison with monarchical institutions as understood, for example, in medieval Europe. A recent publication on the Hittites† demonstrates the continuity which kingship represents between ancient and modern societies and illustrates how Indo-European institutions are continually being shown to have ever more characteristics in common.

The use of the material was a rather technical matter. Before the work could be completed an acceptable and workable conclusion had to be arrived at on very many controversies. These

\* Summarized in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. xxiii, No. 68, pp. 236-8.

† O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (1952).



have arisen, not always on issues of vital importance, largely because individuals have treated of particular topics only in this dynasty's history, and also because much early speculation that not unreasonably consumed scholars' energies has become capable of solution since the publication in recent decades of further significant texts. In other words the vast mosaic is much more complete now than it was even twenty years ago. But to introduce every one of these controversies and do each of them justice would be to render this book unfit for general use, however much such treatment might satisfy, or provoke, scholars in this field. Similarly, in a work which is largely of a pioneering nature every statement would seem to require substantiation and references. But such material, useful, unfortunately, to so few, cannot be permitted its accustomed part of the page. Nevertheless a few notes on more outstanding difficulties or matters of interest not essential to the flow of the narrative will be found at the end of the book, and particular care has been taken to distinguish the occasions when reliance has been placed upon conjecture or probability from the vast majority of statements for which unambiguous documentation is available. Unaided imagination has never been required. An elementary account of the nature of the principal sources is given for the use of students in the second appendix.

Until Professor W. Coelho of Bombay published in 1952 his *Hoysala Vamśa* the last original account of the Hoysaṣas to appear had been written in 1917. Dr S. Srikantaiya's *Hoysala Empire* occupies 33 pages and contains certain important errors. Previous to that the only work of importance was the chapter devoted to the Hoysaṣas of Dōrasamudra in J. F. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanāreṣe Districts*, the last edition of which allotted only a very few pages to the dynasty. It was, however, a great advance on the previous knowledge of the subject, which was based on ill-understood legends and ill-digested Muslim sources. Sir Walter Elliot had already started the search for inscriptions which are the real basis of our modern knowledge of the subject, and his own collection will remain the primary source for epigraphy in Bombay State until the admirable project now organized from Dharwar has covered the same ground. Even then, on account of the damage suffered by some of the stones in the meanwhile, that nineteenth-century compilation will retain

a peculiar value. To Fleet and to the enterprising and vigorous collector B. Lewis Rice, and to the enlightened enterprise of the Mysore and Madras Governments, and latterly that of the Hyderabad State, in preserving and editing inscriptions, historians, and through them the public, owe a heavy debt. Much more still needs to be done, and every chance discovery, every copper-plate record happily recovered from the bottom of a tank, perhaps, or from the roots of a tree, adds as much to our zest for new knowledge of the past as to our already substantial picture.

Professor Coelho's work, which has been reviewed by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri,\* uses no source later than 1928, and this grievously diminishes the value of his book. His contribution contains much valuable material, but he has approached the topic from a point of view different from that of the present writer. The present work was written before the author learned of the research done by Sri Krishnamoorti at Madras about twenty years ago under Dr N. Venkataramanayya and the thesis written by Sri B. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar recently at Mysore. These, as well as certain other researches in the field of Kārṇāṭaka history undertaken in the Mysore and Kārṇāṭaka Universities, notably that of Dr D. H. Koppar on the Social and Economic History of the Hoysaḷas, remain as yet unpublished.

With these exceptions the author is happy to acknowledge a debt to the large number of Indian enthusiasts who have contributed articles to the learned journals on select topics in South Indian history. Their discoveries and discussions have thrown light on many a dark corner of the subject. The Bibliography includes the important articles which have particularly attracted the author's attention. But when all is said, and due allowance has been made for the steady growth of knowledge, it is the twin giants, the late S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, who have brought South Indian studies out of the shadows, and it is upon the foundations which they have laid that future workers must build.

A tour of South India, made possible in 1952 by leave generously granted by the School of Oriental and African Studies, revealed a wealth of cooperative feeling there for which the present writer

\* In the *Journal of Indian History*, vol. xxx, pt. iii, pp. 314-16 (1952).

cannot but be deeply grateful. This book owes corrections and generous encouragement to Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, and has been improved by information or assistance received, amongst others, from *Vidyāratna* R. S. Panchamukhi, Director of the Kannada Research Institute (Government of Bombay) at Dharwar; Dr B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, and Sri N. Lashminarayan Rao, Superintendent of Epigraphy, Ootacamund; *Purāvṛttajyoti* K. R. Venkataraman, sometime Director of Public Instruction, Pudukkottai State; Dr B. L. Manjunath, Vice-Chancellor of Mysore University; Dr M. V. Krishna Rao, Professor of History, Maharaja's College, Mysore; and Sri J. B. Mallaradhya, Census Commissioner for Mysore. His friend Sri S. V. Srinatha Iyengar, LL.B., Advocate, devoted time to conducting the author over a large part of the Hoysala country, and this experience of the terrain together with access generously given by some of the above-mentioned scholars to unpublished records have put him in a position to see what happened very much more clearly than was possible from a desk in London.

These acknowledgements do not, however, diminish a deep consciousness of his debt to his supervisor for encouragement, criticism and minute correction (often needed); and to his other teachers, Professor J. Brough, Messrs Alfred Master, M. S. H. Thompson and G. M. Wickens, all then of the School of Oriental and African Studies, he is grateful for patient and unsparing attention to his multifarious linguistic needs. None of the above, however, can be held responsible for certain inconsistencies in the spelling of proper names which have proved unavoidable. This defect, regrettable to philologists, could not have been remedied without pursuing an independent line of research: the subjects of the Hoysalas did not pronounce their own names and the names of their villages in the same manner in different quarters of the country or even in the same quarter in different centuries; moreover their spelling could be very erratic, and numerous variants, some philologically unjustifiable, occur to embarrass the lay researcher. Again, to take Baligāve as an example, a village might, and often did, acquire spurious names from inexpert local etymologists: Baligāve (Bali's village) was undoubtedly originally a namesake of the well-known district town of Belgaum. A study of the Old Kannaḍa

language cannot be complete until the material presented by historical place-names has been digested, and until that work has been accomplished the historian must rest content with approximations, even if they are no better than identifying labels which might amuse those who can guess their true etymology.

It is hoped that this bare frame will soon be covered and adorned by the work of researchers who desire to bring to light the social, religious, literary and scientific histories of the Karpāṭaka people—a people as yet insufficiently investigated. The publication of the present work is encouraged by the reflection that cultural histories are, after all, without the relevant political background, deficient in anchorage, and are apt to drift into panegyrics or threnodies. The unique and splendid architectural monuments of the Hoysala empire have long been open to the public gaze. We now await the results of the research of the band of learned students of the Kannaḍa classics at Mysore, Dharwar and Sangli, who will undoubtedly discover from those rich but recondite and largely unpublished sources material of the greatest historical interest.

J.D.M.D.

*East Molesey*  
*Surrey*  
May, 1953

## ADDENDUM

Difficulties which no one could have foreseen prolonged the printing abnormally. As a result certain inconsistencies may have eluded the usual vigilance, and the reader's indulgence must be requested. To the members of the staff of the Oxford University Press, both in India and at Amen House, the author owes the additional debt, that to their kindly and painstaking interest in his book they have been forced by circumstances to join an exemplary patience.

The delay has not been without its advantages. Dr Klaus Bruhn most kindly photographed for me the inscription at the

Pañcaliṅga temple (Plate II), a beautiful piece of Hoysaḷa sculpture on an ordinary *dāna-śāsana*, which the weather had prevented my photographing when I visited the site. And in the meanwhile three books of the greatest value have been published, which the student should read before he studies in detail the story set out in the following pages. They are :—

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *A History of South India*. Oxford, 1955. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Cōḷas*, 2nd edition. University of Madras, 1955. T. V. Mahalingam: *South Indian Polity*. University of Madras, 1955.

The usual acknowledgements are due to the owners of the copyright in plates II (upper), III, IV (upper) and V for permission to reproduce them here.

J.D.M.D.

*East Molesey*  
*Surrey*  
March, 1956

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## POST SCRIPTA

The long intervals between the completion of the manuscript and the commencement of printing, and between that time and the completion of printing, have submitted this work to the severest touchstone to which such a history can be applied, namely the publication of new primary source material. The details given below could not be incorporated in the text since the relevant pages were already printed, but the reader should refer back to this page at the places indicated.

pp. 63-4. The recently summarized inscription at Mantagi in the Hāṅgal tāluka, belonging to the Cālukya Sōmēśvara and dated in the first weeks of 1133 [A.R.I.E. 1947-8 (1955), 211], and referring to the fight of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Maṣaṇarasa (*sic*) with an Hoysala army, is the first Cālukya record in the area after 1130, and immediately precedes Viṣṇuvardhana's establishment at Baṅkāpura.

p. 116. It is evident from A.R.I.E. 1947-8 (1955), 235, at Samasgi in the Hāṅgal tāluka that the Kadamba Vīra-Mallī-dēvarasa attacked one Tribhuvanamalla, apparently the last of the Western Cālukyas in enforced retirement, in April 1231. This was probably in continuation of the struggle recorded in E.C. viii Sorab 58 (1228). Such evidence emphasizes the extent of the Hoysala's preoccupation with the South, for a fluid situation in the North-west would otherwise have invited a prompt reaction from Nārasimha II.



**p. 166 and Map 6.** Two of Ballāḷa III's inscriptions having been found at Śīrālī dated 1336 and 1338 respectively, the extent of his gains in Tuḷuva must have been somewhat larger than the sketch-map indicates here. There is still no ground for supposing, however, that he ruled any further northwards than Śīrālī, e.g. as far as Honnāvara.

**p. 234.** A most valuable reference to be added to the authorities *against* the king's ultimate lordship of the soil is Kane, ii. 865-9. With great respect, the present writer remains unconvinced.

### CORRIGENDA

Few of the surviving misprints will mislead, but the reader is requested to enter for himself the following correct readings:

p. 31, l. 26, ruler; p. 41, l. 35, Permāḍi; p. 58, l. 13, Cōḷa;  
p. 99, l. 4, Jambūr; p. 127, l. 37, Tīrthādhi-; p. 140, l. 18, or Kundāṇi;  
p. 204, ll. 19, 20, Ēcalā.

## MAPS

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## PLATES

Plate I. The god Śiva and the goddess Pārvatī. One of the many magnificent sculptured groups on the outer walls of the Hoysaḷēśvara temple constructed at Dōrasamudra during the reigns of Narasiṃha I and Ballāla II. *Facing* p. 64

Plate II. (*Above*) Viṣṇuvardhana in Durbar. On an exterior screen of the Cenna-Kēśava temple at Belūr. A queen, possibly Śāntalā-dēvi, is on the king's left and a minister on his right. Whisk-bearers are in the background and on the extreme left we may just see a 'bard' (see below, p. 80). The whole panel from which this central portion is taken is described in M.A.R. 1948, pp. 18-19. See Pl. III below.

(*Below*) The upper part of the epigraph known as E.C. iii Tirumakudal-Narsipur 101. For centuries it has been

standing in the open at the entrance to the ruined Pañcaliṅga temple at Sōmanāthapura (the temple itself is described at M.A.R. 1942, p. 18). The inscription was erected in A.D. 1276 and is roughly contemporaneous with the great temple at the same village. We see the donors, Malli-dēva-dannāyaka and Cikka-Kētaya-dannāyaka, worshipping the god Śiva-Mahādēva in the form of the Liṅga in the presence of Śiva's *vāhana*, the bull Nandī, and of a cow and her calf and the perpetual witnesses, the Sun, the Moon and a star. It is just possible that the worshipping figures represent the donor's uncle Sōma-dēva-dannāyaka, the founder of the *agrahāra* called Sōmanāthapura, and a Brahmin, but the former suggestion seems more likely.

Facing p. 65

Plate III. A girl dancing to the accompaniment of drums, a flute and cymbals. One of the so-called *Madanakai* brackets of which a series was placed at an angle between the ceiling or projecting roof and the supporting pillars both inside and outside the Cenna-Kēśava temple at Belūr. The temple itself (for a description of which see R. Narasimhacar, *The Kēśava Temple at Belūr*, 1919, and M.A.R. 1931, pp. 26 and ff.) belongs to the period about A.D. 1117, when the god Vijaya-Nārāyaṇa was installed and the foundation-grant was made; but the *Madanakai* figures probably belong to the middle of the 12th century. Our illustration is described at M.A.R. 1931, pp. 41-2. The carving surrounding the figure is of almost unique delicacy. It is unfortunate that *in situ* the full beauty of the work cannot be appreciated: upon the tendrils the sculptor has carved a bee taking honey from a flower.

Facing p. 80

Plate IV. (*Above*) The upper portion of E.C. iii Tirumakudal-Narsipur 97 (A.D. 1269), which stands on the left of the entrance-hall of the Kēśava temple of Sōmanāthapura. An account of this temple, the third finest in the Deccan, will be found in R. Narasimhacar, *The Kēśava Temple at Somanāthpur*, 1917. Above the opening words of the inscription (which are elaborate Sanskrit verses) may be seen Kēśava (Viṣṇu), the deity to whom the temple was

dedicated with Nārasimha III's permission, with Gōpāla on his right and (?) Paraśu-Rāma on his left. The Sun and Moon, a cow and her calf and (on the left) Viṣṇu's *vāhana*, Garuḍa, may be seen around this central group.

(Lower) Contrasted with the free-standing inscriptions of the Karṇāṭaka country, Tamil districts show records on their walls, of which this short inscription on the right-hand side of the steps at the north entrance to the Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa temple at Talakāḍ is a good example. The script is Grantha and Tamil. It records a 12th century grant for the temple which Viṣṇuvardhana founded to commemorate his victory over Adiyama, the event which established his reputation and that of his family. Facing p. 81

Plate V. The tenth side of the Belūr temple copper-plate (E.C. v Belūr 72 [c. 1185]). A beautiful example of the Hoysaḷa script, which finally differentiated the Kannaḍa from the Telugu styles. From the beginning the following lines may easily be read: they are one Kannaḍa and two Sanskrit verses in praise of Ballāḷa II and his father.

tat-taneyam Yādava-varṣottaman = avadātta-kī-  
rtti sāhasa-dhanan = udvṛtta-virodhi-nṛpālaka-ma-  
tta-dvipa-simhan = enisidaṃ Narasiṃha || ā-  
sīd = Ecala-devyāṃ hi Nārasimha-kṣitīśvarā-  
t tasyāṃ paṭṭa-mahādevyāṃ Ballāḷa-prthi-  
vī-patiḥ || śrīmat śrī-Narasiṃha-  
deva-nṛpater = jḡāto mahīyān sutas = sam-  
prāptoru-parākramo vijayate  
Ballāḷa-bhūpālakaḥ [ | ] hitvā pāpa-mahām-  
dhakāram = anīsaṃ dharmmaṃ samuddīpa-  
yan śrīmat Keśava-deva-pāda-yuga-  
la-dhyānāmṛtasvādanah ||

It will be observed that whereas *i* and *ī* are carefully distinguished the time has not yet come in which *e* and *ē*, *o* and *ō* can be distinguished with certainty.

Facing p. 208

## ABBREVIATIONS

A.R.	Annual Report of Epigraphy, Madras
A.R.I.E.	Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy
B.M.	British Museum
D.K.D.	Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts
E.C.	Epigraphia Carnatica
E.I.	Epigraphia Indica
H.A.R.	Report of the Archaeological Department of the Nizam's Dominions
H.I.S.I.	Sewell, Historical Inscriptions of Southern India
I.A.	Indian Antiquary
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly
I.O.	India Office
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J.I.H.	Journal of Indian History
K.I.	Karnatak Inscriptions
K.K.	Moraes, Kadamba Kula
K.S.P.P.	Karṇāṭaka Sāhitya Parisaṭ Patrike
M.A.R.	Reports of Epigraphy and Archaeological Reports, Mysore
N.I.A.	New Indian Antiquary
Pd.	Pudukkottai Inscriptions
Q.J.M.S.	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Ban- galore
R.A.S.	Royal Asiatic Society
S.I.I.	South Indian Inscriptions
S.O.A.S.	School of Oriental and African Studies
W.E.	Sir Walter Elliot's collection

## Chapter One

### THE BEGINNINGS

#### §1. *The special significance of the Hoysala family.*

In our own day so few monarchies survive that the student of constitutions has to expend some energy in accounting for the continued existence of kingship. In India it was until very recently a lively reality to which no individual could hope to remain indifferent; indeed it may truly be claimed that while the king flourished he was as demanding from the subject as he was beneficent towards him, and when the dynasty was feeble its inefficiency could be positively harmful. The intensity with which *Rājadharmā*, or the ideal of kingship, has been studied in that country bears witness to the vividness with which the influential sections of the community grasped its inherent value and importance; and academic discussions reflected public concern.\*

Long before the period we are about to investigate India had experimented with republics. These were oligarchies of two possible kinds. In some cases there had been a wide dispersion of the right, and duty, to govern amongst the descendants of a single family who had originally acquired it; in others, possible only where the people were largely homogeneous, the elders of a tribe became in course of time the Senate of a considerable social body. Invasions from abroad and the gradual re-entry into the general public of pre-Aryan inhabitants of India created in the course of centuries what were thought to be political, social and religious weaknesses which seemed to demand the creation or acceptance of a strong central authority. This might then dispense an even justice to a multiplicity of tongues and races which geographical and economic factors had caused to form one group of mankind distinct from its neighbours, and it was most convenient that the arm which protected this congeries of humanity from the invader and extended its protection, where possible,

\*For an important modern treatment of this subject from the orthodox point of view see K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar's *Rājadharmā* (1941).

in an ever-widening periphery should also wield the *daṇḍa*, the prerogative of human, as contrasted with divine, punishment. Hence in time monarchy became the rule, and all surviving treatises on state-craft presuppose the existence of a king as the first essential for the welfare of the subjects as a whole. Without him there was no practical means of restraining an individual from departing from what was universally believed to be the duty naturally appropriate to his caste, age, and station in life.

Thus the Indian king represented neither an expedient nor a mere phase, but a feature of the civilization in which he played a special but integral part, suffering, if need be, the pains of the responsibilities which were peculiar to his role, yet enjoying, in due season, the good things of life with a vigour and precision akin to the superhuman. He was not, of course, despite his epithet *dēva*, considered to be a divine personage, though on account of common attributes he was constantly compared with the god Viṣṇu. No one thought that he had special access to the ear of the Almighty. His function was analysed and described by numerous savants who, whether they wrote from an empirical or a theoretical standpoint, appear to have enjoyed ample opportunities for forming and testing their theories in the light of the daily business of the Court; on the other hand more than one ruler of renown has contributed the fruit of his personal experience to the respectable bulk of the literature on political science. To confine one's attention, however, to these treatises would be a mistake. If one wishes to discover the secret of the king's power or of the enormous longevity of his office, it is only natural that one should turn eagerly to compositions which were in fact designed to throw light upon the highly complex duties which he had to perform, while one is not attracted by material which incidentally contains examples of luxuriant encomium, which officials and private persons alike loved to produce. Much that is stated in our epigraphs was not intended to be taken seriously, and the adulation which was from time to time lavished upon the ruler may indeed be dismissed by some as extravagant or disingenuous. But this would only be at the risk of failing to appreciate the true position which that ruler occupied. To his continuing in office it was essential that he should be worthy of that praise, and the ruler who purported to rule without having any of the essential qualifications was *ipso facto* something less

than a king, his office was to all intents vacant, and his fall was imminent. If we are prepared to meet this characteristic we can devote ourselves with enthusiasm to the inscriptions which form the basis of this story; for these memoranda of business transacted in long destroyed secretariats, these memorials dedicated to vanished heroes, these monuments to old-fashioned piety or self-sacrifice are all well recognized as of exceptional historical value and unique authenticity. The tedious process of digesting them seems to be sufficiently justified by the results.

It is because the surviving materials enable us to contemplate in high relief the branches of the ancient and medieval Indian constitution over an extended period, and to observe their incidents and effects in more than adequate detail, that India provides, amongst her many notable contributions to the world's store of experience, an unusually favourable opportunity for the study of kingship, and in particular its dynastic form.

In the governmental mosaic of the vast peninsula, itself a fascinating conglomeration of communities, sects, interests and personalities struggling throughout every period to find each its own level and comfortable relation to its fellows, no dynasty lends itself so readily to our purpose as that of the Hoysalas. The Gaṅgas, despite the work of Dr M. V. Krishna Rao, R. S. Panchamukhi, N. Lakshminarayana Rao and Dr S. Srikantha Sastri, are still very much of a puzzle and their early chronology is highly disputed; the Rāṣṭrakūṭas lie still in semi-darkness; the Western Cālukya's origin is obscure and the continuity of his line is doubtful; the Eastern Cālukyas ruled for long but have left, as Dr N. Venkataramanayya's valuable monograph reveals, insufficient records of their complex adventures; and the Sēvūṇas, better known as the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, were famous before they had really acquired a past. The Kākatyās, again, ruled for a period as brief as it was brilliant; and the inscriptions which provide the chief documentary evidence for the Cōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms are as yet in such chronological confusion that the early history of those dynasties is in a state of acute controversy. The kingdoms of the North suffer from either or both of the defects of brevity of dynastic control or paucity of reliable sources, while in the case of Muslim rulers their status partakes of special characteristics the full implications of which have not hitherto been adequately examined; and finally the Vijayanagara dynasties,



though known to us from ample materials and elaborate researches, lack an essential feature which an inquiry into the nature of kingship demands: each founder of a dynasty occupied a post to the creation of which he had himself contributed nothing, for to be recognized as a true founder of a dynasty it is not sufficient that one sits upon a throne once held by another line—one must create one's own vacancy.\* The Hoysāla line on the other hand was self-made, as indeed it was self-destroyed; its rise, success, fall and collapse are visible and intelligible within one unbroken view; its records are adequate and, despite their defects, sufficiently reliable to form the basis of a connected and complete account; and its achievements merit consideration as those of a leading example of the medieval Hindu kingdom. It is with this encouragement, then, that we may trace out the story of the four centuries of its rule.

## §2. *The Hoysāla's early environment.*

Like any other, the nascent Hoysāla power must be seen in its setting, and consequently before we examine the steps by which it became great it will be necessary to paint a picture of the country in which it was born and of the company in which it was to grow to maturity. This environment really comprises the factors which encouraged the process of growth which is about to be described, and, though it must be remembered that the account of them unavoidably contains an element of conjecture, there is nothing in our sources to invalidate it.

In the tenth century of our era the superficial appearance of Southern India can have been different from that which it now displays in two material respects only. The Deccan plains gently sloping northwards from the heights of the meeting place of the Western and Eastern Ghats, the narrow strip of the Malabar coast to the west, and the wide plains of the Tamil districts to the south and east of the enormous bastion of the Nilgiris, all must have displayed, in the broad, the familiar features of today. On the Mysorean plateau, however, the progress of cultivation has increased by perhaps tenfold the then existing number of artificial

\* For the circumstances of the rise of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, see pages 167-8 below.



reservoirs known as 'tanks', and has very considerably decreased the extent of the forests. On the latter account, then, it is possible that the modern total rainfall of Mysore is somewhat less than it was in medieval times while, on the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that the peculiarly healthy climate now enjoyed on this table-land, which has an average height of 2,500 feet above sea level, differs in any degree from that which produced among its tenth-century inhabitants a more vigorous physique than any found elsewhere in the peninsula.

The forests were always a prominent feature of Mysore: in the tenth century, apart from the trade routes from the ports on the west coast and the valley of the Kāvēri river, there were few passes onto the plateau through the dense mountainous country which almost isolated it from the sea on the west and the Tamil country on the south. Access from the east, though never easy, was much less difficult, while from the north several roads led travellers across the Tuṅgābhadrā river in comparative comfort through country by no means uniformly smooth, but certainly more hospitable.

Apart from the forests, the plateau consisted chiefly of three vast clearings, which a reference to any survey map will at once identify. They corresponded to the modern Bangalore and Kolar districts to the east, the tract between the rivers Vēdāvati and Pinākini to the north, and the large area comprising the modern Hāssan and parts of the Mysore, Kadūr and Tumkūr districts, which formed a space, dotted here and there with small if often lofty hills, but otherwise comparatively flat and slightly wooded. This last clearing was the scene of the first century of the activity of the Hoysaḷa family.

It will presently be shown that this area was isolated from the main currents of warfare; it had the further merit of possessing a great natural advantage. Thus on two grounds the geographical factor was of the highest importance in this instance. A rainfall of 300 inches is registered in the area now included in the western half of Hāssan, Kadūr and Shimoga districts, while this level drops sharply as the monsoon clouds leave the heights of 6,000 feet and enter the plateau. Within 60 miles of the area receiving the heaviest rainfall only 40 inches in a good and 25 in a bad year are precipitated. Accordingly, while the farmer in the eastern districts could scarcely raise a single crop with the

aid of water from wells and seasonal streams, and a failure of the north-east monsoon which normally waters eastern Mysore during October and November frequently brought him drought and famine, the immigrant to the west, having once deforested and tilled the soil, could raise two or more crops with comparatively little labour, even without relying upon the tank system of irrigation on which his brethren in the east were eventually forced to depend.

However, while the ambitious farmer in the west enjoyed the most invigorating climate in Southern India, the north-west corner of that clearing was the most salubrious; it received a very heavy rainfall in the summer, was free from the heats which occasionally strike the northern districts, and experienced in addition the greatest cold and the highest degree of variation between the morning and evening temperatures. Not many square miles enjoyed this combination, as a reference to the Mysore Gazetteer will show. Height, rainfall and latitude had marked out this region as peculiarly favourable for the development of a virile race; though sheltered, it gave passage to the important trade routes between the Deccan, the Tamil and Telugu countries and the Indian Ocean, and being fertile it gave to those who began to exploit it opportunities to utilize and finally to control the trade that flowed along them.

Amongst the inhabitants of this favoured land two main classes stand out clearly. Whatever the diversities between families and castes among the total population—and they were many even in that period—an important distinction is to be drawn between the types that inhabited hill and plain. The plain-dweller, whether of Aryan, Dravidian or mixed descent; whether a Brahman occupied in the civil service, or in elegant repose in some *agrahāra* which a dutiful monarch had bestowed upon his ancestors; or a merchant of the Jaina faith living in a cross-road *depôt* belonging to the Nānā Dēśī corporation; or the Gāvūṇḍa, a respectable farmer having many tenants under him and wielding authority in the hamlet; or even the humble cultivator upon whose efforts the whole structure of society rested: all alike feared the hill-dweller, whose habitation and way of life made the plain-dweller of every description his natural prey.

These inhabitants of the hill-ranges, whose chieftains were referred to generally under the title *malepar* or 'hill-chiefs',



belonged originally to tribes, presumably of pre-Dravidian origin, which had either never known life in the plain or had been driven thence by early imperial dynasties. Their life was of necessity harder and less organized than that of the plain-dweller. Their families were often isolated from one another by streams swollen by the summer rains, their contacts with the outside world were few and not always friendly. Their crops were raised precariously wherever the uneven ground and rare security permitted. They hunted the beasts of the forests, sold sandal and other timber to the merchants, and often raided outlying farms and villages, carrying off women, cows and draught-cattle. Having a strength superior to that of their victims they proved a constant source of alarm and annoyance to the authorities in the plain. Raids by these Bēḍar, as they were known, are frequently found recorded even in the prosperous days when relatives of the killed could afford to set up inscriptions commemorating the disasters. Only imagination can measure the extent of the menace in the tenth century.

On the other hand the plain-dwellers found it useful to enlist these Bēḍar, not only as watchmen against their own kind, as Pathāns were employed by the British government on the North-West Frontier of united India, but also to exterminate such predatory animals as the tiger and leopard. Yet it was as mercenary soldiers that the subjects of the *malepar* had a large source of income and an attractive means of employment. We find their enlistment recommended in the *Kāmandakīya*. This was a means which undoubtedly contributed to their emergence into more civilized life in the plains, and by which both the Bēḍar of the 17th and 18th centuries reached a high social position, and the Māvalis of the same period achieved prominence in the Marāṭhā empire. But the less enterprising among the hill-dwellers, whose ambitions never leapt beyond the robbing of caravans or perhaps the offer to passing merchants of protection from the attentions of their fellow robbers, and who consequently remained in the depths of the forests, these never developed a civilization worthy of the name, remained inarticulate from the point of view of history, and are buried in a well-merited obscurity.

Not that warlike propensities were monopolized by the hill-dwellers: the healthy climate, the labour of cultivation and the

strain of constant watchfulness against human and animal foes (hand-to-hand conflicts with tigers are mentioned seven times in extant inscriptions), all contributed to develop virile constitutions. Of the great majority of the inhabitants of the plateau it may be said generally that they were brave, despising death, pugnacious, and, especially in the upper Tuṅgabhadra valley, warlike to a degree sometimes approaching bloodthirstiness. It is recorded at the foot of many *vīragals*, memorials to those slain in battle, 'The victor gains wealth: even the slain gain the celestial nymphs. What fear, then, of death in battle, when the body perishes in an instant?' To this is added on occasions, 'Life is transient and uncertain: honour lasts as long as moon and stars. Honour must be preserved even at the cost of life itself.' One gruesome panegyric of a more polished period relates the happiness of a dying warrior's parents when they saw him garlanded with bowels. Even a work of the mid-Vijayanagara period such as the *Jaimini-bhārata* renders unconscious tribute to the native vigour of Kannaḍigas, for we find that where the author wishes to depict *striking and cutting, thrashing, vice and injustice* he employs either pure Kannaḍa words or Sanskrit roots adapted for use in Kannaḍa so as to qualify by that time as Kannaḍa words; *virtues and prosperity*, on the other hand, he depicts in an entirely Sanskrit vocabulary. The Karṇāṭaka people, natives of Kuntala,\* to which country the inhabitants of our clearing belonged, show in their early literature and in the less formal of their inscriptions a simple and exuberant attitude to a life which political and economic conditions must have made hazardous and brief, but, while it lasted, full, vigorous, adventurous and satisfying.

The vicissitudes of this existence pressed, of course, much more heavily upon the plain-dwellers than upon their contemporaries in the hills. While the latter were members of independent clans secure from the effective threat of foreign domination, the former were constantly at the mercy of any free-booter who happened to be able to defy the government, of an invasion by a hostile power, or by their own ruler's expeditions, which might be equally calamitous whether they were punitive or protective. The tenants and cultivators were, moreover, continually finding themselves pawns in the political game played

\*The western half of the Deccan.

as occasion offered between their local ruler and the sovereign.

Thus while conditions in the mountains remained for generations unchanged, with no more signs of progress or development than one would have anticipated in the circumstances, the Kannaḍa-speaking inhabitants of the plains, despite their common language, which might have been expected to render them a single nation distinct from those they called *Teliṅgas* (Āndhras), *Tigulas* (Tamilians) or *Āryas* (Marāṭhās), seldom found themselves fellow-citizens of a single empire. Yet, as was obvious to every ruling family, a single empire, or at the worst a small number of truly powerful states, was essential for the protection of the lives and properties of the individual inhabitants. Several notable attempts were indeed made to bring about this desirable state of affairs. But since no agreement lasted for long as to which families in particular should exercise supreme authority, and as those which succeeded in achieving such recognition sooner or later forfeited their claims, southern Kuntala was littered with the feeble representatives of many once powerful dynasties, whose degree of cooperation with the sovereign for the time being varied with their own ambition and the latter's vitality.

During the tenth century the greater part of the Deccan north of the Tuṅgabhadra was ruled by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, then about to give place to one of its chief feudatories and rivals, the Cālukya family which soon after A.D. 974 made Kalyāṇa (or Kalyāṇi) in the modern Hyderabad State its capital. Over the southern parts of the plateau the Rāṣṭrakūṭas exercised a nominal sovereignty, which from time to time was put to good use, as in their wars with the Cōḷa family. The latter entertained ambitions of adding Kuntala to its already large empire in the Tamil country below the Ghats, and continued against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas a war inherited from the time of the Pallavas. Normally, however, those parts fell within the sphere of the ancient Gaṅga dynasty,\* the original headquarters of which appear to have been at Kōḷālapura, the modern Kolar. Their fine inheritance in the west of the plateau they seem never to

\*For information on the Gaṅgas see M. V. Krishna Rao's *Gaṅgas of Talkad* (Madras, 1936) and Panchamukhi & Lakshminarayana Rao, *Karṇāṭakada Arasumanetanagaḷu* (Dharwar, 1946).



have exploited adequately, never moving their seat of government further west than the strategically and commercially important town of Talakāḍ. Their authority was, however, traditionally associated with almost the whole of the cultivable part of the Mysorean plateau, and for several centuries it had been designated the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000, the numeral referring to the number of inhabited places according to a survey of unknown antiquity. The only considerable portions of the plateau south and west of the Tuṅgabhadra not included in the Gaṅgavāḍi were, besides certain uninhabited areas in the north and north-east, the rich Banavāse 12,000, which depended upon the once important town of Banavāse, and the Noḷambavāḍi 32,000, which occupied the region between the northern limits of the Gaṅgavāḍi and the Tuṅgabhadra, and of which Ucchaṅgi was the principal town. This Noḷambavāḍi province derived its name from the Pallava family of the Noḷambas, who had been the masters of that and neighbouring regions until defeated by the Gaṅgas, and who finally left remnants of their line to carry on the name in parts even far south of Ucchaṅgi.

The Noḷambas were not the only famous family of which branches continued to rule in a subordinate capacity during the tenth century, and for a proper understanding of the early Hoysaḥas' achievements it is necessary briefly to review them. Certain well-known branches of the Kadamba family ruled under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and afterwards under the Cālukyas at Hānuṅgal, now Hāṅgal, Banavāse and Bandaḷike in the region around and to the north of the Varadā river, while representatives of the dynasty flourished at Kīrtipura on the Kabbani in the extreme south, at Banavāse and Rājēndrapura in the southern part of that clearing into which the Hoysaḥa was to lead his followers, as well as at Molakalmuru in the north-east of modern Mysore.\* The Silāhāras of the North Koṅkaṇa were feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor, and play but a small part in the events which are to be described, but the Kadambas of Gōve (Goa), the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and the Sindas of Erambarage, not to speak of the Cōḷa of Heṅjēru, were dynasties with whom the Hoysaḥas had many interests in common and many important grounds for conflict.

\* A reference to Maps 2 and 3 will make the distribution of these families clear.

Of independent families the most important were the Caṅgāḷva and Koṅgāḷva dynasties, rulers respectively of the Caṅga and Koṅga *nāḍis* (or districts), which lay between the rivers Hēmāvati and Kāvēri and between the latter river and the mountains of Coorg. They were the Hoysaḷa's neighbours in the hills, though in the plain a Kadamba family's territories interposed between the Hoysaḷa's homeland, to which we shall return presently, and the Caṅgāḷva and Koṅgāḷva kingdoms. Of greater vitality than either of these was the Sāntara family, which was about to be led out of its forest fortress of Pombuḷccha, or Huṃca, for the fertile lands to the north-west. Though far less is known of them, the Sāntaras give an impression very similar to that which we can gather from the early days of the Hoysaḷa: the life of the plain seems to have been the fruition, as it were, of a period of gestation in the forests above. Several branches, again, of the Sinda and Gutta families ruled areas of the northern plain to the east and south of the Tuṅgabhadra. Among entirely submerged dynasties the Bāṇas were typical; a line that had been powerful in the northern as well as the southern parts of the plateau, in fact an imperial or quasi-imperial family, was now mostly confined to the tract below the Ghats, in the modern Salem and surrounding districts of the Tamil country.

The Gaṅga family during its six hundred years of rule had thrown off many junior branches. Such families bearing the Gaṅga name and titles were to be found in the tenth century as far north as Uddhare (Udri); at Āsandi; in the vicinity of Kolar; and in many other parts where the characteristic proper names frequently appear. But however deep their roots in the country, neither the Gaṅgas nor their colleagues had succeeded in raising the general level of culture south of the Tuṅgabhadra to a high plane. It is true that from the middle of the tenth century onwards a certain forward movement is detected: the interest of the emperors Indra III and Kṛṣṇa III in the southern parts of the plateau during the Cōḷa wars, the course of which crossed the Gaṅgavāḍi obliquely, seems to have stimulated it. The Gaṅga usurper Būṭuga II was a leading stalwart on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa side and was richly rewarded for his services to the Emperor both against the Cōḷa and against enemies in the far distant Kaliṅga and Mālava countries. Perhaps these circumstances led to Būṭuga's campaigns of aggrandizement in the

rich lands beyond the Tuṅgabhadra, which his son Mārasimha III carried through, taking in the process the great fort of Ucchāṅgi in the year A.D. 971. His successor, Rācamalla Satya-vākya IV, was of a different calibre, being the nominee and puppet of the new Cālukya emperor, Taila. Gaṅga affairs thus sank back into the state of comparative insignificance which had been normal before Būtaga's time, when the central and southern parts of the Karṇāṭaka country were remarkable for no distinctions in fields political, literary, architectural or religious.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, from the small number and often illiterate character of the records that survive it may be judged that the general level of prosperity was very low compared with that of succeeding centuries, and it may safely be assumed that the historical obscurity that surrounds much of the Gaṅga period is due very largely to the backward condition of the majority of their subjects. Yet by the end of the thirteenth century the Gaṅgavādī had become one of the most prominent, if not the most enterprising, parts of Southern India culturally as well as politically. The descendants of the Gaṅga family played but a diminutive part in the struggle to vindicate Karṇāṭaka claims to be recognized as a leading exponent of the specifically medieval Hindu culture. How this remarkable revolution came about cannot be explained without taking into account the contribution of the Hoysala family.

Near the source of the Vēdāvati river, around which they had dwelt safely in the dank recesses of the mountains, yet within easy reach of that favoured plain which has been described above, having within their territory the main trade route from Maṅgalūr which joined others at Belūr, an important centre at the very foot of the hills, lived at this time a group of hill-dwellers of Dravidian or pre-Dravidian extraction, who had achieved a degree of domestication if not civilization, and had begun to feel the attraction of a settled dwelling-place and the comforts of a less isolated existence. They had already commenced to move plainwards very much after the fashion of a wild creature that issues cautiously from its lair.

Their leader, a man clearly of exceptional foresight and energy, perhaps already possessed the titles to which even the feeblest of his descendants clung tenaciously. These were awakened every morning by a recitation of their titles, which always included

the following: *maleparol gaṇḍar*, *gaṇḍa-bhērūṇḍar*, 'champions among the hill-kings, male *bhērūṇḍas*', the *bhērūṇḍa* being the mythical bird of prey that is often represented in later sculpture grasping elephants and lions in its talons; they were 'strong-armed kings of hill-kings'; they claimed descent from the Lunar race through the eponymous hero Yadu, and so were Yādavas and 'lords of the excellent city of Dvārāvati', the legendary capital of the Yādava prince Kṛṣṇa. It is not, of course, impossible that their original stock was racially distinct from that of the majority of their followers: they may have descended from the founders of the megalithic civilization which is believed to have come into being in northern Mysore in the third century B.C.; they may have been of the stock of Aryan conquerors of the southern Deccan long since overwhelmed by stronger successors from amongst their own kin; it is, however, useless to speculate on their racial origin: let it suffice firstly that, whatever their *origin*, they are known to have intermarried freely with the type of families that later became the backbone of the Karnaṭaka country, and secondly that long-established and powerful dynasties were not ashamed to intermarry with Hoysaḷa princes. Whatever the nature of their ancestry, it inspired no scorn among the contemporaries of their prosperity.

But that both recognition and prosperity alike were not due solely to their claims to a distinguished ancestry their family name clearly demonstrates. We should regretfully pass with a smile over the charming myth which was invented in Viṣṇuvardhana's day to account for the odd name; nevertheless the Hoysaḷa badge, namely the representation of Saḷa absent-mindedly killing a wide-eyed tiger, which appears today high up on the roof or architrave of many of the temples constructed by the Hoysaḷa kings or their ministers in many quarters of the plateau, requires a brief mention. The tale ran how a Jaina teacher bade his princely pupil slay the tiger with his wand (or a steel rod—versions vary) saying '*Hoy, Saḷa*', 'Hit it, Saḷa!' In fact *Hoysaḷa*, from the old Kannaḍa root *hoys* (originally *poys*), signifies 'the Smiter',<sup>2</sup> and the terse cognomen indicates without ambiguity the type of rôle which this family first played in Karnaṭaka history. They started their career as successful brigand-chiefs.

## Chapter Two

### THE RISE OF THE HOYSAĀLA

(The reigns of Nṛpa Kāma, Vinayāditya & Eṛeyaṅga)

§1. c. 940 - c. 1047. *The Hoysaṣa leaving the mountains becomes a power in the plain.*

The interesting period between A.D. 940 and 974 has already been mentioned in connexion with the warfare between the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the Cōḷa families and the effect of that warfare upon the fortunes of the Gaṅga family. It was while the two emperors were concerned with their schemes of offence and defence and were planning vast campaigns across the Deccan in a generally north-west—south-east direction, and while the Gaṅga was taking advantage of these preoccupations to invade and secure land belonging to the Kadambas in the most coveted quarter of the plateau, to the west of the Tuṅgabhadra, that we first come across an indirect reference to the Hoysaṣa. It is unfortunate that no better references to him are so far to be found during this period, but at this stage of his career, with his neighbours in that low state of material development in which he found them, it is not surprising that so few memorials are to be found making a direct reference to this chief. At first he was no more than one among many, and it is fortunate that the information we have of him falls into an intelligible pattern.

From an inscription at Marale, a village to the north of Belūr, we learn that a grandson of a certain Arakella, by name Poysaṣa-Māruga, fought at Sirivūr with Aṇṇiga, whom we know from other sources to have been a Nolamba contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III. The style of the record, and that of another in the same region which likewise mentions Arakella, as well as their palaeographical characteristics, support this dating and indicate that the Hoysaṣa was very well known in the middle of the 10th century. Arakella's son had the title *sāmanta*, and from this, apart from the situation of the inscription, we can tell that his grandson was a kind of warden of the marches under the sovereignty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa. He had as his name the odd title of 'Hoysaṣa-beater', and from this it is clear that the

Hoyśāḷa was a public menace of some considerable proportions. The Kadamba Jayakēśi III called himself *malavara-māri*, or 'striker of hill-chiefs', and a record not far to the north-west of Belūr tells us that a small community exposed to such attacks gave themselves collectively the title *toṛahara-māri*, or 'striker of the lords of streams'.\* The Hoyśāḷa rose rapidly from the status this reference implies, so that within half a century he reappears in a different capacity. Before then, however, the political situation in the Gaṅgavāḍi had undergone a profound change, which must have contributed significantly to the Hoyśāḷa's progress.

By the year 1004 the entire country had, in theory, submitted to the rule of the Cōḷa Rājārāja I, whose successes the new Cālukya dynasty at Kalyāṇa had been powerless to prevent. But, as far as we know, the Kadambas of Banavāse and Rājēndrapura together with those at Kīrtipura refused to recognize Cōḷa overlordship: they seem to have been either too isolated or too insignificant to trouble the conqueror's vanity. The Koṅḡāḷva ruler, however, to the west of these, assumed the Cōḷa style and title in the contemporary fashion, and commenced to avail himself of the Cōḷa's favour to the disadvantage of his neighbours. That part of the plain, at the north-west corner of the great clearing to which we have twice referred, and into which the Hoyśāḷa had led his followers, seems to have been ruled by none of the great families: if a Gaṅga held it he was too poor to be able to afford monuments to testify to his activities. The mighty rivals for the hegemony of the Deccan were not interested in this geographically isolated and economically undeveloped tract, and both Cālukya and Cōḷa, if they glanced at this quarter of the plateau, had their attentions fixed upon the rich black soil of the upper Tuṅgabhadra valley some miles to the north. The Gaṅgas, who presumably knew the Gaṅgavāḍi better than any other family, had driven for the towns of Ucchaṅgi and Baṅkāpura, not the villages around Belūr.

With his home in this neglected corner, the Hoyśāḷa's entry upon our stage in his own person is as suggestive of what had preceded it as it was dramatic. Little imagination is needed to build up from the meagre details of the lithic record a picture

\* For the *toṛahar* see below, p. 41.

of this anonymous chieftain as he consolidates his hold upon the recently-won plain-lands. He provides, as do many of his contemporaries elsewhere in India, an excellent illustration of the operation of the factor of 'fresh blood', to use Professor A. J. Toynbee's well-known expression, upon that of 'new ground'.\*

In the spring of the year 1006 the Hoysaḷa fought against Apramēya at the village of Kalavūr (the modern Kaliyūr) on the south bank of the Kāvēri immediately opposite to the town of Talakāḍ. This Apramēya was a feudatory of the Cōḷa, whom we know to have been one of the most efficient rulers of the day. The Cōḷa had, in fact, been in possession of Talakāḍ for between two and three years, and unquestionably valued it very highly, thinking, rightly, that without it, 'the gate to the Ghats', he could not maintain contact with his new provinces on the plateau. From Apramēya's title, 'destruction to the races of the hill-chiefs', it is plain that he had had contact with refractory tribes on the fringe of the forest whence the Hoysaḷa himself had come. It seems that Apramēya died in this battle or soon afterwards, but not before he had repulsed the Hoysaḷa with the loss of his general Nāgaṇṇa and several subordinate commanders.<sup>1</sup>

From the terms of the damaged record it is plain that the Hoysaḷa had been a formidable opponent, 'fierce with pleasure and satiety. . . .' He had a force of cavalry and an 'ocean of a lofty army of elephants'. Moreover, he could not have attacked the Cōḷa officer's forces with such a large army so near the latter's headquarters without having first acquired the good-will of the Gaṅga and Kadamba families in the neighbourhood, or the cooperation of the rulers between the hills and Apramēya's camp. The Hoysaḷa is described as *anya-sādhana*, 'one who has acquired extraneous resources', or 'one who has others as his instruments', and one may imagine that the phrase refers to some such diplomatic success. Nor could the Cōḷa's ally, the Koṅgāḷva, have remained active in the Hoysaḷa's rear, and we must accordingly postulate a successful campaign against the Koṅgāḷva as a necessary preliminary to the march of 120 miles towards Apramēya.

From the same record we gather information of another character. The minister of the Hoysaḷa is called Nāgaṇṇa or

\* See Dr Somervell's abridgement of vols. I-VI of *A Study of History*, ch. vii, sec. (2).

Nāgavarma, and the other leaders are called Mañjaga, Kāligaga(?), Bīruḡa and Candiga. These names are all of an unpretentious kind, the first being such as in later times was affected by persons of no great importance, and the latter group being of primitive Kannaḡa form showing none of the graces that power and wealth soon brought to the nomenclature even of persons of subordinate authority in the Hoysaḡa empire. It may thus be concluded that whereas in 1006 the Hoysaḡa appears as the robust and successful champion of an unsubdued portion of the Gaṅgavāḡi, and a leader of eminence that could tempt the resentment of a Cōḡa *sāmanta*, at the same time the personnel of his administration was unassuming, its organization probably being of a similarly primitive complexion. Moreover, though he had made such remarkable strides, had taken the lead among his contemporaries, had given a splendid display of initiative and resource, and had finally been strong enough to bring Apramēya to a pitched battle, he was not able to defeat him, still less, as it turned out, to disturb the Cōḡa emperor's quiet. The year 1006 found the Hoysaḡa at the head of a power as unpretentious as it was ambitious.

The organization which had been carefully built up from what must have been practically nothing was not abandoned as a result of this repulse. Before long the Hoysaḡa was engaged in a struggle with the Koṅḡāḡva, whom we believe he had temporarily subdued in or before 1006. The latter, as has already been mentioned, had evidently been increasing his territory at the expense of his northern neighbour, the Kadamba. He thereby drew nearer to the homeland of the Hoysaḡa. An inscription of 1022 at Rājēndrapura on the fringe of that region refers to Rājēndra-Cōḡa-Pṛthvī-mahārāja Koṅḡāḡva's making war on Nṛpa Kāma Hoysaḡa, while one at Honnūr of 1026 shows the same king marching upon the latter and being victorious at Maṇṇi. That the outcome was not in the Koṅḡāḡva's favour, however, is evident from the lapse of 30 years before his name reappears in an inscription.

This collapse of the Koṅḡāḡva, gratifying as it must have been to the Hoysaḡa, was not the result of his pressure alone. The Cālukya emperor himself in or a little before the year 1024 sent a *daṇḡanāyaka*, or general officer, southwards to enlarge his sphere of influence in that quarter. We hear that Malli-dēva



took tribute from the kings called Caṅgāḷva, Koṅgāḷva and the 'broad-shouldered Cōḷa' (who was probably the ruler of Heñ-jēru), and 'triumphed over the camp of the Hoysala'. The Hoysala's opposition to his movements was brushed aside in a campaign in which the emperor levied contributions in cash from the Hoysala's local rivals. This strange recompense for the Hoysala's brave attack on the Cōḷa 18 years before is a neat illustration of the tortuous and often illogical policies of medieval imperial courts. That the effect of the campaign was not entirely crushing is shown by the fact that twelve years later the Caṅgāḷva was able to be the aggressor in a raid eastwards against the Cōḷa territory north of the modern city of Mysore.

So far, however, from discouraging his enterprise, adversity seems to have spurred the Hoysala to greater activity. His defeat at the hands of Apramēya, the temporary reverses in the conflict with the Koṅgāḷva, and finally the enforced submission to the Cālukya, came at a time when he was speedily establishing himself as a territorial monarch. To this period must belong the inscription at Uggihalḷi, the village on the spur that faces Aṅgadi across a narrow valley. Aṅgadi was the ancient Sosavūr, called Śasakapura, which the *Koṅga-dēṣa-rājākkal* and the *Hoysala-rāja-vijayam* tell us was the legendary birth-place of the Hoysala family, the scene of the 'Hoy, Sala!' episode. Uggihalḷi shared with Sosavūr the advantages of being at once easily defensible, well watered and yet protected against the monsoon floods, and had by means of fords across the river easy access to the main road from Maṅgalūr to Belūr near its junction with the road that came up from the south. At this place, we gather, a benefaction was made in the 7th year of the reign of 'Kāma Voysala (*sic*) known as Rācamalla Permāḍi'. Having this region, then, within his home territory, the Hoysala continued to extend his sway. In December 1027 he attacked the Kadamba capital Banavāse itself, and its neighbour Rājēndrapura. Their common feud against the Koṅgāḷva did not save the Kadambas, and a conflict which proximity rendered almost inevitable had matured at last. The eventual success of the Hoysala was in the circumstances certain; Banavāse is only 32 miles east-south-east of Sosavūr; the inhabitants of the district were plain-dwellers and no match for the troops of the hill-chief.

Important as it is to attempt to form an impression of Kāma,

the earliest member of the dynasty to whom a personal name is given, the facts are unfortunately not of a well-balanced kind. We cannot, of course, be certain that Nṛpa Kāma and the Hoysāla of 1006 were identical, for the ambiguous word *sanda* in the Kaliyūr record may indicate that he died in battle; yet Nṛpa Kāma deserves to be placed at the head of his line, even though he may not have been the first to bear the family name nor even the king who led his people out into the plains. His connexion with the Gaṅgas, or with the environment in which that family had lorded it for centuries, is evident from his name and title. At least one Nṛpa Kāma, or 'King Kāma', occurs in the genealogy of the Gaṅga family, and though contemporary rulers in other parts of southern India likewise bore the name, the titles Rācamalla or Rājamalla and Permāḍi or Permāṇaḍi were peculiar to the Gaṅgas. The facts confirm the impression, also, which may be drawn from the list of neighbours with whom the Hoysāla had already come into conflict. It is a list from which the Gaṅgas are conspicuously absent, and it seems that an alliance between the Hoysāla house and the Gaṅga families within its sphere of activity was the first step to prominence in their world. The former emerged as the champion, leader, and finally master of the latter.

Nṛpa Kāma was, almost certainly, like many of his neighbours, of the Jaina faith, and may have shared with them the same series of Jaina tutors. It was as a Jaina, perhaps, that he earned the curious description of *muṇḍa*, which was applied to him in the Honnūr inscription of 1026. The word has been translated 'base', which is an unnecessary choice from among the meanings to be found in Kittel's dictionary (*bald, shaved, base and deprived of a limb*) as words of abuse are extremely rare in inscriptions. It has been suggested that the word here signifies 'shaveling' or monk, but it is most improbable that King Kāma should have been a cleric or that clerical status or leanings should have been attributed to him. On the whole it seems most likely that he had lost a limb in battle, a notable mutilation which would occasion comment in a world of orthodox Jainas, who appear to have had a horror of bodily defects. Of Nṛpa Kāma's wife or wives we know nothing, but his son was Vinayāditya, who succeeded him in or before the year 1047. The legacy which was bequeathed to him can be assessed in a few words:

the leadership of a hardy hill-dwelling people, whose standards must have been exacting, with influence and some landed property in the plain; the friendship of influential branches of the ancient imperial family of the Gaṅgas; the complacent regard of the other inhabitants of the north-western parts of the great clearing; and the healthy respect of fighting men on every side.

§2. c. 1047 - c. 1078. *Vinayāditya develops the kingdom and hires out his troops to the Emperor of Kuntala.*

About the time of the accession of Vinayāditya a further step was taken to advance the family's fortunes. There is no proof that before that time the Hoysaḷa had decided to adhere to either side in the Cālukya-Cōḷa conflict, which was merely a continuation of the rivalry between the latter and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Hoysaḷa had in fact a choice between siding with the Cōḷa, which was quite contrary to all we know of his policy since 1006 at the latest, and joining the more obviously suitable camp of the Cālukya, or, again, of remaining neutral. Of neutrality two types were possible: that of non-intervention and obscurity, and that of seeking advantage from the predicaments of both parties. The Hoysaḷa was not yet sufficiently strong to adopt the latter course; to the former he was by nature averse. Accordingly, following the course which may have been suggested by the visit of Malli-dēva in 1024, he joined the ranks of the followers of the far-off emperor at Kalyāṇa and waited for an opportunity to profit from the connexion. So much, at any rate, can be gathered from an inscription of the year 1047 which gave the Hoysaḷa king—whether Nṛpa Kāma or his son cannot be made out—the title *Tribhuvanamalla*. This may mean one of two things: it could indicate subordination to the Cālukya emperor Tribhuvanamalla (for many petty rulers within the Cālukya orbit assumed that and corresponding titles), or that the Hoysaḷa felt himself to be of such stature as a monarch as to merit the cognomen 'Wrestler of the Three Worlds'. The balance of probability inclines to the former solution, especially as an inscription which may be assigned to 1049 does not include the title *Tribhuvanamalla*. Titles out of regard for a superior were

not retained as punctiliously as those derived from personal achievements.

Compared with Nṛpa Kāma, Vinayāditya was far better remembered by later generations. Often indeed he was considered to be the founder of the dynasty, or at least the first member worthy of mention after the mythical Śaṣa; his career therefore deserves as close an examination as that of any of his more famous successors. The evidence supports a general conclusion that his reign constituted a period in which the strength and resources of the Hoysaṣa dominions were conserved and consolidated. Meanwhile many individual subjects gained experience in other parts of the peninsula and incidentally acquired ambitions which were to support in subsequent reigns a period of dynamic aggrandizement. It is of interest to watch which way Vinayāditya turned whenever he was faced by a critical choice. It was open to him to enjoy a quiet and uneventful reign, but he chose at every opportunity a course which at once pitch-forked his subjects into a world of adventure and risk, challenge and progress.

Vinayāditya would have been a more conspicuous figure, perhaps, in this story, had his reign not lasted at least until 1098, when he was succeeded by his son Eṣeyaṅga, who then ruled in association with two at any rate of his three sons. Since Vinayāditya's reign thus spanned a full half-century it embraced not only the life's work of his son, which was colourful enough, but many of the more spectacular exploits of his grandsons also. Accordingly, when we consider the achievements of Eṣeyaṅga and Viṣṇuvardhana in the latter's youth we must not fail to picture Vinayāditya in his capital husbanding the resources of the State, keeping order at home while the army was abroad, and quietly contributing to the development of cultivation and local industry. Later generations never failed to recognize Vinayāditya's greatness, and credited him with what we might naturally suspect to be an unduly large share in the merit of organizing the successes won during the period.

It is chiefly because of its length that in this reign we are first able to make a fairly exact estimate of the extent of land which the Hoysaṣa had begun to occupy or control. The area outlined by dashes on the sketch-map of the Hoysaṣa country (Map 2) shows the part of the Gaṅgavāḍi actually governed by Vinayāditya at the time of his death. It is not, however, to be supposed that

the whole of this area was under his control at the commencement equally with the close of his reign. A gradual expansion almost certainly took place towards the north and east. Nor would it be reasonable to conclude that these villages, being only those whose inhabitants could afford to erect monuments which have survived to this day, comprise between them the whole area which came under Hoysaḷa influence. Undoubtedly the Hoysaḷa must have made himself felt in all directions, and where spaces were more sparsely occupied or less effectively governed it is likely that his followers found less opposition and penetrated further. This is at least a partial explanation of the fact that later inscriptions often appear to ascribe to the early Hoysaḷa dominion bounds wider than the surviving contemporary records will substantiate. The problem is, however, worthy of close attention, for on the one hand no one can appreciate the achievements of Vinayāditya without a clear impression of the area of ground which he brought under his control, and on the other the history of his descendants may be distorted by an under-estimation or exaggeration of what he was able to perform.

An inscription of the year 1184 purports to describe Vinayāditya's boundaries. Its late date naturally renders the details suspect, but they are worthy of scrutiny. It speaks of him as ruling over the area bounded by Koṅkaṇa, Āḷvakhēḍa, Bayalnāḍ, Talakāḍ and Sāvimala. Of these names Koṅkaṇa and Āḷvakhēḍa are vague terms, implying in this case that Hoysaḷa rule did not extend into the coastal strip but went to the limit of the territory held by the Kadambas of Hānuṅgal and the Sāntaras of Pombuḷccha; Bayal-nāḍ calls for no comment, as it was the plain district which had as its probable capital the city of Kīrtipura, held by a Kadamba family, and which corresponded with the modern Heggadadevankote *tāluka*; and Talakāḍ must here, as in some other instances, signify not the city of that name, but the province named after it. Of this province nothing definite is known. No one today can tell what was its size or constitution; however, it will be observed that Talakāḍ city was about 35 miles from the boundary of Vinayāditya's kingdom as shown on the map. If then it be conceded as possible that the area between the Kāvēri and Kabbani rivers was under Hoysaḷa influence, if not actually colonized or governed by that power, and that the Talakāḍ provincial boundary met the limit of Hoysaḷa influence

in the region of Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa (Seringapatam), then we may be satisfied that the eastern bounds as well as the southern (Bayal-nāḍ) are comfortably accounted for. The boundary indicated by Sāvimale is another matter; it throws doubt on the accuracy of the boundaries attributed to Vinayāditya in this late record. This hill (*male*) has never been identified, although the most obvious choice seems to be Kumārasvāmibetṭa, the last two parts of which name are synonymous with Sāvimale. This identification is happy enough so far as concerns later uses of the name as a landmark, but that hill can hardly have been at any time a boundary of Vinayāditya's kingdom, on account of the fact that two important families, that of Huliyeṛu (or Huliyaṛu) and that of Heṣṣiyeṛu and Niḍugal, lived between the Hoysala's capital and Kumārasvāmibetṭa, and they would have offered a serious obstacle to the Hoysala's progress in that direction.

The discrepancy regarding Hoysala influence in or near the Kadamba and Sāntara kingdoms cannot be disposed of even so simply as this. What appears to be an obvious exaggeration may have had a basis in fact. The inscription of Trailōkyamalla Cālukya, which can safely be dated about 1060, suggesting that Hoysala and Sāntara forces had recently been in conflict, is supported by two others of King Vira-Sāntara himself, dated about 1062 and 1068 respectively. The former relates how the Sāntara's ministers had become involved with the 'Hoysala's hostile force' near the southern border of the Sāntara kingdom, while the other tells how a cavalryman died bravely in a fight with the Hoysala's *nāyaka*, or captain. It is clear that the fertile soil, the gold mines, the flourishing condition and older civilization of the upper Varadā valley in which the Sāntara family ruled had proved an attraction for the Hoysala, despite the fact, which the vast number of *vīragals* found on their land proves, that the inhabitants were the most warlike of all the Kannaḍa-speaking races. The general result of this conflict seems to have been gratifying to the Hoysala, for later inscriptions tell how Vinayāditya terrified the inhabitants of Koṅkaṇa, the Sāntara's neighbour; Ammaṇa-dēva Sāntara, son of Vira-Sāntara, married 'Hōcala-dēvi', who must have been one of Vinayāditya's daughters; and for the forty years or so following the close of Vinayāditya's reign no Sāntara inscriptions are to be found, a sure sign of weakness throughout the body politic. While, however, the

temporary eclipse of the Sāntara's prestige was assisted if not entirely caused by Hoysaḷa pressure, it cannot be concluded that the Hoysaḷa *conquered* the Sāntara country, or even subjected it to a prolonged occupation, for no Sāntara kings ever acknowledged Hoysaḷa supremacy, and no Hoysaḷa inscription of this period has been found in that area. Nor does the memorial at Andigere to the wife of a treasurer in the Hoysaḷa's service give reason to suppose that the village came within Hoysaḷa jurisdiction; apart from the doubtfulness of the date, which may be 1090, the fact that an official's wife chose to pass her last hours at a place is not sufficient evidence of sovereignty over that place on the part of her husband's master.

Whatever room may still be left for controversy on these and similar issues, the area indicated on the map, being about 95 miles long at the longest and 70 miles broad at its widest part, represents the entire known area within which the Hoysaḷa enjoyed the revenues up to and about the year 1098, and this alone may be said to be the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ proper, the nucleus of the vast domain which little more than a century was to put into the hands of that dynasty. A small part of Koṅḡ above the Ghats seems to have been annexed before 1098, and is just outside the area outlined by dashes on Map 2: there is no proof, however, that the region was firmly governed by, as distinct from being within the sphere of influence of, the Hoysaḷa; the second decade of Viṣṇuvardhana's reign saw it well inside the Hoysaḷa frontier.

Certain important but little-known dealings with the Gaṅgas also contributed to the consolidation of Vinayāditya's kingdom. While his relations with the Sāntaras must have been a constant source of anxiety, his achievement in this field was permanent. An inscription dated 1089 gives the Hoysaḷa the title *Vikrama-Gaṅga*, which means 'Hero among the Gaṅgas' and also 'Champion over the Gaṅgas'. From the title 'snatcher of the mountains which are the breasts of that damsel, the Gaṅga country' which occurs in the same record we cannot escape the conclusion that war with the Sāntaras had provided both the inclination and the power to subdue by force if necessary a family, such as the Āsandi Gaṅgas, that lived immediately in the path of movement towards the Sāntara country and the north. By 1089 Vaijarasa of that family had recognized the overlordship of the Hoysaḷa, while Hermāḍi Gaṅga, a connexion of his, had married Eṇṇyaṅga's

daughter before 1067. After a brief and unrecorded struggle this Gaṅga family became an integral part of the Hoysala kingdom, retaining its individuality without obstructing the career of its sovereign, so that the earliest important group to be pressed into subordination remained true to its overlord until the collapse of the empire itself nearly three centuries later. On the other hand, though his reasons may be disputed, one may be fairly sure that Vinayāditya did not make any attempt to annex the possessions of the Cōḷa feudatories in the east; nor did he attack the Caṅgāḷva or the Koṅgāḷva on his southern frontier; yet within the limits described the Hoysala gradually consolidated his control, meeting and overcoming such opposition as the families already in possession must from time to time have offered to him. An example is found in a record of 1084 where a Noḷamba is seen to be involved in conflict with the Hoysala *pergaḍe* (commandant) of Neraḷige. And thus it is possible to understand why from about 1060 onwards Vinayāditya was said, in the idiom of the time, to be ruling the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 although at no point during his life did he rule more than half of it.

One may well wonder what were the reactions of the Emperor at Kalyāṇa regarding the Hoysala's progress. It by no means followed that an accession of strength to a vassal meant an acquisition for his overlord. Prior to the succession of Vikramāditya VI in 1076 the Hoysala's expansion had been viewed without alarm. There had been a faint tradition of friendliness, and some while before 1055 Vinayāditya had married off a daughter or a sister to the Emperor himself, thus emulating the matrimonial achievement of the 6th century Gaṅga ruler who gave a daughter in marriage to the Gupta emperor. In 1055 we learn that Hoysala-dēvi, a 'senior queen', while residing at Kalyāṇa, made a grant of land 'for the Mallikēśvara *tīrtha* of Onnāḷi on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra'. The title *Tribhuvanamalla* was in frequent use by the Hoysala king, and his peculiar relationship is confirmed by his substituting as a title the name of the Emperor Trailōkyamalla in or before 1061. Moreover, though he is thrice given the antique title of *Rakkasa-Poysala*, or 'Demon Hoysala', in imitation of the title *Rakkasa-Gaṅga* held by several members of the Gaṅga family in earlier days, from about 1074 Vinayāditya bore the regular titles of a feudatory, of the highest class, of the Cālukya empire, that is to say *samadhigata-pāṇca-*



*mahāśabda-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, or 'Lord of a great country who has achieved the dignity of the five great sounds', the sounds being produced by an elaborate processional band to which only such dignitaries were entitled.\* It was evidently possible for the Hoysaḷa, then, to enjoy the best of both worlds, content to be classed with Cālukya feudatories of older culture and more mature dominions, without discarding his own air of sturdy independence. And when in Vikramāditya's reign Vinayāditya actually accepted Cālukya overlordship in full this was more a tribute to the power and efficiency of that emperor than a reflection upon the capacity of the Hoysaḷa. For, in fact, Vinayāditya had been one of the strongest supporters of Vikramāditya's elder brother, the emperor Sōmēśvara II, and on being approached by him for aid had not failed to send a large contingent of Kannaḍiga troops out of his small kingdom under the command of his youthful son Eṇṇayaṅga. The latter thus took up an unusually heavy responsibility. It seems he had been in public life hardly six years at that time.

The situation in which he was called upon to help the Emperor was not in itself extraordinary. A period of military weakness in the central authority at Kalyāṇa had encouraged at least one hereditary rival, not long subdued, to rebel. In the previous reign Sōmēśvara I had enjoyed remarkable successes against Bhōja-dēva, the famous Paramāra king of Mālava, having sacked Dhārā, his capital city, in 1057. But Bhōja's swift recovery led to his successor Jayasimha's being prepared to side against Sōmēśvara II Bhuvanaikamalla, the son of Sōmēśvara I, as soon as it became known that his younger brother Vikramāditya had become estranged from him. Sōmēśvara II appears to have taken prompt steps to forestall Jayasimha's movements in support of his brother, but without success; he then called to his aid the Hoysaḷa together with an otherwise unimportant prince of the Gaṅga family.

At some point, then, between 1069 and 1076—it is not yet possible to be more precise—Eṇṇayaṅga attacked Dhārā, 'the fort of the Mālava king' and 'the pride of Bhōja', captured it and burnt it, a task which a Hoysaḷa panegyrist would have us believe had been too heavy for the Cālukya with all his other resources.

\* For the instruments see p. 21 of G. K. Shrigondekar's introduction to vol. II of the emperor Sōmēśvara III's *Mānasollāsa*.

He thus provided not only the first battle-honour for the Hoysala family's *prasaṣti* or roll of achievements, but also a significant parallel with the services rendered by the Gaṅga Būṭuga on behalf of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa a century before. Few later engrossers of *śāsanas* with any claim to a high style fail to refer in grandiose terms to this very remarkable performance. Yet, although this was rightly considered the most notable of Eṛeyaṅga's achievements, in later times he was remembered for four other exploits, which are, as it happens, as difficult to assign to a period as the Dhārā campaign itself. He was celebrated for the burning of Baḷeya-paṭṭaṇa, the capture of Cakragoṭṭa, the defeat of the Kaliṅga king, and finally for special services against the Cōḷa king. The inscriptions relate as follows:

'Trampling upon the Mālava army he showed no kindness to Dhāre (*sic*), and burnt it; then he seized and dragged the Cōḷa, and with violence thoroughly plundered his camp; he, the powerful one, routed the Kaliṅga and ruined him, so that the Lords of the Quarters heard of the prowess of his own arm: in this manner did King Eṛeyaṅga acquire fame.'

He 'made Cakragoṭṭa void of habitation' and, in burning Baḷeya-paṭṭaṇa, 'when he had seized the shore, made one think of the trembling mass of the ocean waves when faced with glittering fire from (Paraśu-) Rāma's arrows'. He was 'a rod in the right hand of the Cālukya king'.

In order to appreciate properly the Hoysala king's foresight, diplomatic skill and military strength we must endeavour, though it is no simple task, to place these campaigns in their proper succession. Cakragoṭṭa conveniently offers itself first. It is well known that this fortified town was situated in the modern Bastar State in the present Madhya Pradesh. It lies in the north-west of the old Kaliṅga province and seems to have been economically and strategically of the first importance. It had already changed hands many times, having been taken by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with the aid of the Gaṅga king in the 10th century and by the Cālukya some time before 1062, only to be lost to the Cōḷa four years later when he invaded the whole of Kaliṅga. Some time after the beginning of the reign of Vikramāditya VI, and almost certainly before the time when the Hoysala came into contact with the place, Prōḷa, son of Bēṭa of the Kākatiya family, 'straightened the Cakrakūṭa (Cakragoṭṭa) province'. This

pleasant pun simply indicates that he occupied it. The question arises whether Prōla was the king of Kaliṅga against whom Eṛeyaṅga fought? It is known that Viṣṇuvardhana accompanied his father on this expedition, and in all probability Baḷeya-paṭṭaṇa was a town on the coast of Kaliṅga or Veṅgi, the rich province south of Kaliṅga; we know, moreover, that Viṣṇuvardhana claimed to have destroyed Jananāthapura, which was either Vijayavāṭa (the modern Vijayawada), Veṅgi town itself, or Rājamahendrapaṭṭaṇa, the modern Rajahmundry. Jananātha was one of the titles of the Cōḷa Rājarāja I, and the town was the 'family capital' of Rājarāja Cōḍagaṅga. This last exploit can have been performed only while he was on campaign with his father in the war against the king of Kaliṅga, and probabilities lead us to the conclusion that Cakragoṭṭa was taken first, then Jananāthapura, and then Baḷeya-paṭṭaṇa, so that both Kaliṅga and Veṅgi were involved. In that case Prōla was not the chief object of the expedition, as his family ruled but a small region at this time in the neighbourhood of Wāraṅgal; the Kaliṅga king must have been none other than the local viceroy of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa, Vikramāditya's enemy. It remains, then, to decide when Eṛeyaṅga led his forces of Kannaḍigas on this long journey across the Deccan beyond the borders of Kuntala into the heart of the Telugu country. It is important not to be misled by Bilhaṇa's statement that Vikramāditya captured Cakragoṭṭa just prior to his father's death. There is no doubt that Viṣṇuvardhana accompanied his own father on this expedition; he himself was not heard of before 1098, was born somewhere in the region of 1075, and could not possibly have attacked Cakragoṭṭa after his accession in 1108, for it would have meant a march unaided across the peninsula at a time when his energies were in fact being more profitably employed elsewhere. These considerations put the date of the expedition between 1076 and 1098, preferably about 1090. At this time Kulōttuṅga made a practice of allowing the Veṅgi province, to which Kaliṅga was an annexe, to be governed by a member of his family bearing a Cōḍa title, and one may safely guess that he was usually a son of a queen of the Eastern Cālukya stock, or otherwise lineally connected with the former ruling families of the Telugu country, such as the Eastern Gaṅgas. These rulers might well pass, in Kannaḍiga eyes, as true 'kings of Kaliṅga'. That that dating is approximately correct

is to be seen from the fact that between 1093 and 1116 Vikramāditya succeeded in two attempts to strip the whole Āndhra country from the Cōḷa emperor, with one reverse intervening between the two successes; one of his most distinguished officers, specially transferred to the Telugu country for the purpose, took and burnt the viceregal capital of Veṅgi and defeated the viceroy himself, probably Vira-Cōḷa, at that same Jananāthapura, and we have evidence that Cakragoṭṭa had to be attacked again.<sup>2</sup> In the latter part of Kulōttuṅga's reign the Āndhra country was more firmly held for the Cōḷa cause, and Vikramāditya had to wait for his third opportunity until after his great rival's death. It is clear, therefore, that the Hoysaḷa was present at the first stage of a long contest between the two giants of the peninsula for the rich province of Veṅgi and its dependent districts. The Hoysaḷa was then content to serve a military apprenticeship under the Cālukya, to take lessons in the science of expansion and to taste the advantages of power and influence without the burden of responsibility for anything more than the technique of fighting. We have clear proof that Vinayāditya found that the opportunities for gain outweighed the tremendous risks.

His notions of loyalty, too, were strangely involved, for interesting changes had taken place in the relationship between Emperor and subject-ally before the Cakragoṭṭa campaign began. Sōmēśvara had, it seems, been content to employ Eṇṇayaṅga against Dhārā without prejudice to Vinayāditya's status as an autonomous ruler; the result was that the Hoysaḷa had no hesitation in sending his son on a sponsored tour across Kuntala and maintaining his own army at Sōmēśvara's expense. But when his relations with his elder brother broke down in 1076 Vikramāditya found the Hoysaḷa one of his own chief supporters amongst the western feudatories. In the decisive battle which gave him the Empire Eṇṇayaṅga appears to have taken a most active part. The campaign against the Cōḷa, to which we have referred above, must have followed soon afterwards, and Eṇṇayaṅga fought him with success at a certain Vallūr, probably that in the modern Tumkūr district. It is open to us to conjecture that, if the change of adherence and the defection to Vikramāditya were not due to misbehaviour on Sōmēśvara's part—and there is no evidence to support such a suggestion beyond the justly suspected account of the courtier Bilhaṇa—the Hoysaḷa sided

rather *against Kulōttunga* than with Vikramāditya; it would seem that the congenial work of ridding the plateau of the Tāmilian invader was an attraction long prior in time to Vikramāditya's invitation to Cakragoṭṭa and Veṅgi. If this was the case, an adequate explanation is found for the suspicious attitude which Vikramāditya adopted towards the Hoysaḷa almost immediately after his coronation. Though there must necessarily be some element of conjecture in such theories, they seem to explain the facts adequately. For by 1078, if a record of 1107 may be trusted, Vinayāditya was obliged to acknowledge Cālukya supremacy in full; by 1090, at any rate, he undoubtedly did so.

§3. c. 1078-1090. *The Hoysaḷa as a feudatory of the Cālukya.*

The official use of the Cālukya-Vikrama era, that of Vikramāditya's coronation, commenced in the Hoysaḷa country in or before 1083, and thus the practical supremacy of, as contrasted with respectful but vague association with, the imperial family was clearly admitted. It appears that the new Emperor was determined to control those who had been most instrumental in bringing about his elevation and whom he accordingly regarded with apprehension; but an additional reason lies in the fact that the Hoysaḷa's loyalty depended on his enmity towards the Cōḷa, and as long as Vikramāditya did not fear an invasion from the south he could afford to treat the Hoysaḷa in an off-hand manner. So his younger brother, the *mahā-maṇḍalēśvara* Jayasimha, led a force into the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ about the year 1080 during his term of office as viceroy of the valuable districts north and west of the Tuṅgabhadra, which included Banavāse, Sāntalige, Belvoḷa and Huligere. In the Emperor's 13th year, again, extensive operations were undertaken by Vikramāditya himself in the south and east of the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ. Though we have no conclusive evidence on the point it is inconceivable that the Hoysaḷa king should not have assisted in them, for every blow delivered against his neighbours strengthened his own position. The victims were the Cāṅgāḷva, Koṅgāḷva, Cēra and Siṅgāḷika. The Cēra was probably encountered in the regions of Coorg or the Nilgiri rather than in his home, the Malabar coast; the Siṅgāḷika's

sphere of activity is only known from a few vague references, but it is fairly clear that he lived on the south-east fringe of the plateau, and it must have been there that Vikramāditya found him while he was 'beating the bounds' of his recently-won empire. The effect of his attack on the Cēra and Siṅgaḷika cannot be assessed owing to a complete absence of evidence on the point, but the results produced in regard to the Caṅgāḷva and Koṅgāḷva were curiously mixed. The pressure from the Cālukya caused a decline, followed by a temporary revival, which affected both families between about 1090 and 1094, before both slid into a long oblivion. A fierce diplomatic struggle for supremacy in their Courts is clearly shown by the titles borne by the monarchs: in 1079 the Koṅgāḷva king calls himself Rājendra Pṛthvī Koṅgāḷva, with certain Cōḷa titles, to which no doubt he was entitled by a family connexion, and the usual title of a Cālukya feudatory which commences *samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda* . . .; in the same year he is Tribhuvanamalla Koṅgāḷva; later, by an amusing compromise, he is Tribhuvanamalla Cōḷa Koṅgāḷva; and finally, during the period in which Vikramāditya subdued him, Rājendra Pṛthvī Koṅgāḷva. The temporary revival occurred while the Hoysala was closely occupied in another direction, and that helps to prove, what otherwise could only be guessed, that the Hoysala, if only in a subdued and strictly subordinate capacity, assisted the Emperor on this campaign.

Though the Emperor thus viewed the Hoysala with mixed feelings, Vinayāditya himself must have felt satisfied with the conduct of his own part in the relationship. Within three years of his death the following verse is found summing up his services to the Emperor, both those which had been offered personally and those performed through his son and grandson:

"The Hoysala king subjected to that famous Lord of Kuntala and to himself enemy kings who did not join hands (in a gesture of respect), striking hostile princes in a brilliant way as if they were balls in a game. That famous Vinayāditya ruled from the West as far as (the province of) Talakāḍ like Indra, until the circle of the Earth cried out, "Well done, Sir!" in approval."

The foreign campaigns had not gone unrewarded materially, and the Hoysala's generals and statesmen had availed themselves of the unique opportunities to gain experience in a wide field; the result was naturally to widen the outlook of the Court. From

this period immigrants and adventurers began to be attracted; most of them expected substantial patronage, and some remained to make valuable contributions to the material and intellectual resources of the Hoysala's country. Meanwhile, as befitted a monarch of rank, Vinayāditya answered the self-confidence which success had brought his followers by setting up his residence further from the hills in a capital city which enjoyed a rather more central position, better placed, in particular, as regards the principal trade routes that traversed the kingdom. That Sosavūr, the legendary Śaśakapura, was indeed Vinayāditya's earliest capital is shown by an inscription of perhaps 1184, which seems to have been based on documentary material of much earlier date. It purports to show him ruling with Eṇṇayaṅga's mother, Kaleyabbe, or Keḷeyabbe, at Sosavūr in 1047-8; he then gave the chiefship of a village in Āsandi-nāḍ to a fosterling for his maintenance, a fact which supports our account of the early expansion of the Hoysala into the lands of the Gaṅgas of Āsandi. Moreover, Vinayāditya's first inscription of reasonably certain date is itself at Sosavūr. By the year 1062, however, after a short stay, perhaps, at Belūr, Vinayāditya was ruling at Dōrasamudra, and it is from that year that we can allow that town the status of a *rājadhāni* or capital city. The name *Dōra-samudra* refers to the construction of one of the tanks there by a certain Dōra, a ruler of the Rāṣtrakūṭa period.<sup>3</sup> Belūr, 8 miles to the south-west of Dōrasamudra, now in a more flourishing condition than its ancient rival, then contained a palace which was used from time to time as a subsidiary seat of government. As already remarked, it lies on two main trade routes with its back, as it were, against hilly and difficult ground, in a far stronger defensive position than Dōrasamudra, though neither city could be said to be well situated from a military point of view. Belūr and Dōrasamudra were linked from Vinayāditya's reign by a fine channel which brought the water of the Yagaci river to the new capital. When it is remembered that Dōrasamudra was situated between two or perhaps three stretches of water, it will be appreciated that the population that gathered there must have been large indeed to require such elaborate provision—large even for a capital, for in those days life was still predominantly rural, and even a *rājadhāni* was a village first and a seat of government second.

The growth of the kingdom which is observed during this period

included a programme of public works and benefactions, conspicuous among which was the provision and repair of tanks, in which we find the king himself taking a close personal interest. An ambitious scheme of land-development in the district under his management was carried out before 1063 by Vinayāditya's minister Pōcimayya-*daṇḍāyaka*.<sup>\*</sup> Grants of land, or more accurately of the rights to enjoy the land, were made to at least one *agrahāra*, or Brahman settlement, and to a *śaiva* temple, while repeated references to Jainas testify to the royal family's loyalty to their teachers. The relationship was in fact mutually beneficial: it was said of the *guru* of Vinayāditya, the eminent divine and politician Śānti-dēva, who had recently died at Sosavūr, that that ascetic's ability was beyond description, for 'having worshipped his pair of pure lotus feet the Hoysala King Vinayāditya brought the goddess of wealth to the territory under his rule'. The Pāṇḍya king (of Uccaṅgi) had conferred upon Śānti-dēva the title *Svāmi* ('The Master'), and Āhavamalla (the Cālukya) that of *Śabda-caturmukha* (Brahmā in linguistics), and finally he had attached himself to the Hoysala. Śānti-dēva's successor as *guru* of the Hoysala king was a certain Guṇasēna-*paṇḍita-dēva* of Muḷlūr in the modern Coorg, who was probably a colleague of that Vardhamāna-dēva who before he died by *sannyāsa* about 1070 had been described as 'highly esteemed in the Hoysala's secretariat'.<sup>4</sup>

§4. 1090-1102. *The Emperor withdraws his favour and Hoysala ambitions increase.*

This happy domestic progress founded upon the docility of the Hoysala's neighbours, the influx of wealth from the foreign campaigns, the steady extension of cultivation, the growth of religious and cultural institutions under royal patronage, and, we must add, the prolonged absence of the more lively members of society in the imperial service, was rudely disturbed at a time when Vinayāditya himself was in extreme old age, his son apparently absent from the capital, and the community

<sup>\*</sup>*Daṇḍāyaka*, which will be used throughout this book, was the regular *tadbhava* form of the Sanskrit *daṇḍanāyaka*, 'officer of high military rank', i.e. colonel or general, according to the mission.



unprepared to receive the shock. The Paramāra King Jagaddēva, with the Emperor's connivance, completed a career of conquest, which included a successful attack on the Kākatiya ruler and another storming of Cakragoṭṭa, by an invasion of the Hoysaṣa country. It has already been pointed out that the Hoysaṣa's great services to Vikramāditya were balanced in the latter's mind by the fact that Vinayāditya's adherence had not been entirely disinterested, and by the obvious signs of Hoysaṣa expansion. Moreover, due to a cessation of hostilities in the east, the reopening of which was unlikely in any quarter but Veṅgi and Kaliṅga, the Hoysaṣa's services would not be needed for the defence of the southern dominions of the Cālukya against Kuḷōttuṅga. In any case there is some evidence that Vikramāditya was infatuated with that Paramāra and allowed him to do almost as he liked, while, after all, it is hardly surprising that Jagaddēva should have been willing to travel some distance in order to revenge himself against the taker of Dhārā. In or about 1093 he attacked Dōrasamudra, but Viṣṇuvardhana and his elder brother Ballāḷa faced him and eventually managed to drive him away. His success, however, was sufficient to inspire some very clever verses in the Jainad record.\*

The Hoysaṣa brothers were extremely proud of having been able to drive the Paramāra away, and very frequent reference is made to their exploit. Accompanied by his brother Ballāḷa, Viṣṇuvardhana 'anointed the goddess of Victory with the saffron of the blood from the faces of his (Jagaddēva's) elephants, and captured his treasury together with his breast-ornament'; Ballāḷa on a horse cut down the Mālava 'emperor's' elephant while Viṣṇuvardhana, 'powerful as Yama, striking with his arm, drank up all at once the rolling ocean which was the army of the Mālava King Jagaddēva and others sent by the Emperor'.

It seems from fragmentary records that at least two engagements took place before Jagaddēva departed for the north, and there is evidence that Ballāḷa expostulated with Vikramāditya. He probably hinted that it was foolish to encourage one feudatory, such as the Paramāra, too far.

\*It will be seen that Jainad is almost equidistant from Kalyāṇa and Wārāṅgal. The record well repays study. It was published in the Hyderabad Archaeological Report for 1927-8 and edited in *Epigraphia Indica* xxii, pp. 54-63. See also *E.I.* ii, p. 192 and xxvi, p. 185.

In any case Jagaddēva's attack, partial though its success was, had a profound effect on the relationship between the Hoysaḥa family and the Cālukya. Vinayāditya himself must have died in 1097-8 at the latest, leaving Eṇyaṅga to rule until 1102. Eṇyaṅga's death then coincided with the commencement of the first aggressive movement of expansion undertaken by the Hoysaḥa power. It slowly gathered momentum during the short reign of Ballāḥa I, who received throughout the assistance of his younger brother Viṣṇuvardhana, affectionately known as Biṭṭidēva, and presumably that also of their less distinguished brother Udayāditya. Eṇyaṅga did not himself take a share in a scheme of revenge. When his father died he must have been about 60 years old, an age then considered advanced, and he was probably no longer capable of taking an active part in the strenuous public life of the day. We can, however, imagine that his ripe experience was available to his sons when they formulated the new forward policy, in which loyalty to the Cālukya found no place.

Eṇyaṅga's first wife, Ēcalā-dēvi, the mother of Ballāḥa, Viṣṇuvardhana and Udayāditya, probably did not long survive her father-in-law. Her co-wife, Mahādēvi, almost certainly survived her. Eṇyaṅga appears to have married Mahādēvi not long after the accession of Vikramāditya VI. The marriage was of no small political importance; it apparently extended the Hoysaḥa's contacts with the eastern half of the Gaṅgavāḍi, and may have been a very profitable alliance. She was a niece of one Pāṇḍya who was also on the side of Vikramāditya during the crisis of 1076, and who was able to trace his descent through the Cōḻa emperors of the Solar line; her maternal grandfather was Karkkaḻa-mahārāya, a substantial landowner of Cōḻa connexions in the east of the plateau, whose descendants in the 13th century had further dealings with the Hoysaḥa.

### Chapter Three

## THE FIRST ATTEMPT AT ACHIEVING IMPERIAL STATUS AND ITS FAILURE

(The reigns of Ballāla I, Viṣṇuvardhana and Nārasimha I)

### §1. 1102-1108. *An abortive attempt.*

The problems which faced Ballāla I and his brother Viṣṇuvardhana at the death of their father were by no means unique. The Kadambas of every branch, the Raṭṭas, the Sindas, the Pāṇḍyas and northern Cōlas, and to a lesser extent the Sāntaras, Koṅgāḷvas and Caṅgāḷvas, had been faced with a similar crux not once but many times before. Some of them, such as the Pāṇḍyas of Ucchaṅgi, had but slender resources; others, again, lacked adequate ambition or depended too much upon the support of their neighbours. When the Hoysaḷa brothers were faced by the challenge they persisted and triumphed where the rest succumbed. This challenge involved two distinct questions. Should a ruler of somewhat confined territories who has accepted the overlordship of an imperial dynasty, whose seat of government is remote and whose hold upon the loyalties of the people is none too firm, take an opportunity to oust that dynasty from as wide an area as possible, or failing such opportunity create one for himself, or should he peaceably acquire only that which his neighbours actually or virtually vacate? Indeed, no one doubted that if a governmental vacuum occurred the first ruler to step into it had the right and duty to hold what he had acquired. But if he should step forward, take or create his opportunities and acquire overlordship in his turn, so that others that had before been his equals became his feudatories, should he rest satisfied with an empire comprised within convenient geographical bounds, and ignore invitations or provocations beyond them, or should he be ready to embrace the whole peninsula and run the risk of overreaching his personal strength and functional capacity? We discover that many dynasties, such as the Sindas of Erambarage, were temperamentally nothing more than feudatories all their days, while the Cālukya family itself was an

outstanding example of the contrary. The Kadambas did not pursue a modest course, but of all his kind the Hoysaḷa gave the boldest answer to these questions: to the first he replied by accepting responsibilities wherever he could find them; in reply to the second, if he avoided the risk in Viṣṇu-vardhana's day, he accepted it in the time of his grandson. The latter thus, as it turned out, accelerated the downfall of his own dynasty.

After about seven years of rest and comparative peace, in which the Hoysaḷa government husbanded its resources and repaired the damage done by the Paramāra invasion, Ballāḷa and Viṣṇu-vardhana commenced preparations for a series of campaigns which was designed, as far as we can tell from its traces, to transform the character of the Hoysaḷa kingdom so that instead of being a district of the Cālukya empire it should rank as an independent power.

The time seemed to be ripe for the first movement in that direction about 1102, when a conspiracy broke out among the Cālukya's feudatories in the south-west of the Empire. In the previous year the trusty Gōvinda, nephew of Anantapāla-*daṇḍāyaka*, ruled the Belvoḷa, Huligere and Banavāse provinces, north and west of the Tuṅgabhadra, in the name of the Emperor; but his efficient rule was embarrassed by disturbances so serious that Vikramāditya himself, despite the cares of a vast empire, was obliged to come and camp at Jayantipura, otherwise Banavāse. The natural beauty of that locality cannot have been the principal attraction since the many visits there of various emperors seem always to have coincided with civil disturbances or hostile invasions, so that their pleasure cannot have been unalloyed with business. Jayakēśi II had no sooner ascended the Kadamba throne at Goa than he assumed the title *Koṅkaṇa-cakravartī*, 'Emperor of the Koṅkaṇa', evidently deciding to be free from Cālukya supervision. The *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tailapa of the Kadamba family ruling further to the south-east, at Hānuṅgaḷ, though not in open rebellion, became epigraphically articulate for the first time in 1102, ignoring the Cālukya governors in his area. Anantapāla, who had been in control of Halasige and part at least of Belvoḷa in 1100, seems to have lost them two years later. That part of the Banavāse province which was governed from Baligāve alone remained stable. Anantapāla's authority

there seems, however, to have been restored to some extent by the end of the following year.

The fact that the Baligāve area had remained less disturbed must have suggested to the Hoysala generals a movement which would avoid it; moreover it is possible that the Ucchaṅgi family had given cause for complaint to its southern neighbour, the Gaṅga family of Āsandi, which was under Hoysala protection. Thus, while Cālukya officials were busily occupied north of the Tuṅgabhadrā, Ballāḷa seized the opportunity and attacked, as the first of all the Cālukya's possessions, Ucchaṅgi. That town lay beneath a most imposing hill, the fort upon which had already been attacked by several rulers. The Pāṇḍya dynasty there was old and doubtless disposed to be contemptuous of the claims of a king of so short a pedigree; the defeat of the Pāṇḍya would be an achievement of which the Hoysala could reasonably feel proud. The attack was successful. The Pāṇḍya was forced to capitulate and, it seems, to abandon his allegiance to the Cālukya. 'Only the kings Viṣṇu and Ballāḷa are valorous', we are told, 'they who bit with the force of their own blades the pride of the Pāṇḍya who arrogantly opposed them, and without mercy took the wealth of his kingdom.' Leaving him behind, the Hoysala brothers crossed the Tuṅgabhadrā and made a rapid progress through the districts to the north and west of that river. They seem to have been on their way homewards when they were attacked, not by Anantapāla, as might have been expected, but by an expedition under the command of Ācugi II of the Sinda family of Erambarage, the modern Yelburga in the Hyderabad State. This Ācugi, who was accompanied by his son Permāḍi-dēva, was a devoted servant of the imperial house, and seems to have been so pleased with his success against the rebels that it was celebrated at Erambarage for at least seventy years after the campaign itself. An inscription at Naregal tells how Ācugi defeated their enterprise, opposing the Hoysala, taking Goa, pursuing the Pāṇḍya, scattering and chasing the hill-chiefs (*malapar*) and taking Koṅkaṇa by the order of the Emperor Vikrama. Immediately afterwards, it seems, the young Permāḍi pursued Jayakēśi, the Kadamba, and 'snatched the royal wealth of the Hoysala, who was outstanding, a fierce chief of the earth'. In an inscription of 1130 we find an elaboration of the exploit, which may in fact contain a reference to a second Sinda-Hoysala conflict in the

early 1120's. The distinction between the two incidents is difficult to make, but as Viṣṇuvardhana is referred to throughout as Biṭṭiga, a name that fell out of use officially during the first decade of his reign, the passage in question may fairly be quoted as a belated reference to the events of 1103. An understandable reticence on the part of the Hoysaḷa prevents a more accurate apportionment between the two clashes.

'Brilliantly reaching the mountain-pass of the (?) robber that was Biṭṭiga, rushing forward he came up before Dōrasamudra and took Belupura (Belūr); thus pursuing and driving back, with his sword as his companion, reaching the (famous) Haḍiya-ghaṭṭa, coming to grips he took the obstacle: (thus) the glorious King Perma obtained abundant fame in the world.'

'Gripping in battle the king-friends who had disappeared into a mountain difficult of access together with King Biṭṭiga, pursuing and capturing all the elephants he, the unequalled master in daring, brought them away in abundance.'

Again, in an inscription of 1179 we learn that Permāḍi won the Hoysaḷa's furious elephants and *treasure-waggons* and drove in flight the very bold Toraha,\* whom he at length captured and brought to Vikramāditya. Allowing for exaggeration one may safely conclude that Viṣṇuvardhana suffered considerable punishment, and was obliged to seek ignominious refuge in the hills behind Belūr. His brother Ballāḷa appears to have been away from the capital at the time, facing a threat from the Caṅgāḷva, with whom Permāḍi or the Emperor may well have been in communication. Ballāḷa made a propitiatory gift of land to the god of the temple at Guḍḍatteraṇya, a mile or so north of the Hēmāvati river, while on his way southwards, and shortly afterwards was engaged at a place called Hosaviḍu, which is as yet unidentified.† The outcome of the battle is unknown, but can be guessed from the absence of Caṅgāḷva inscriptions until 26 years later, when a single epigraph is followed by a further gap of 34 years. It is interesting, however, to notice the circumstances of the Hosaviḍu battle as related: 'when Peimāḍi-dēva gained a victory over the fierce Hoysaḷa army, at his command (a warrior)

\* Torapa. See above, p. 17. For further information see *E.I.* xix p. 227 & ff; *E.C.* vii Shimoga 37 (1140 A.D.) and *E.C.* viii Sagar 108b (1042); the *Toḷaha-kula* mentioned in *K.I.* i. 24 of 1939-40 (1148) at Sirasangi, Belgium district, may well be the same.

† It may well be the Hosaviḍu near Hullahallī between Śrīraṅgapattana and Kīrtipura, not far from the Kabbani river.

fell upon them at Hosavīḍu and went to heaven.' The fact that the Caṅgāḷva's name does not occur is no obstacle to the present interpretation: numerous inscriptions nearby bear the names of Caṅgāḷva rulers, and the warrior must have been an inhabitant of that region and hence a Caṅgāḷva subject. It seems highly likely that the battle was timed to coincide with the attack upon Dōrasamudra and Belūr. Viṣṇuvardhana, the more experienced of the brothers, naturally occupied the post of greater danger.

The defeat at the hands of the Sinda, following so soon after the invasion of Jagaddēva Paramāra, together with the humiliating outcome of their northern venture, might have left the Hoysaḷa brothers' spirits as low as their fortunes. Indeed the extreme scarcity of inscriptions during Ballāḷa's reign indicates temporary retrenchment in civil expenditure. In the districts bordering upon the Tuṅgabhadra the expedition of 1102 must have been remembered with disappointment or derision, and the Pāṇḍya king resumed with alacrity his allegiance to the Emperor. But the course of events shows that Viṣṇuvardhana, at any rate, was not dismayed.

Ballāḷa's last inscription was set up in 1108. Until his death, which must have been in or about that year, he followed a cautious and temporizing policy, acknowledging from time to time Cālukya supremacy, and waiting for events to take a more profitable turn. His success against the Caṅgāḷva brought him little prestige and may hardly have recompensed him, for there is no proof that he exercised control over Caṅgāḷva affairs. Indeed there is evidence to the contrary. He is said to have enjoyed from his brother Viṣṇuvardhana an obedience comparable to that shown by Lakṣmaṇa to Rāma; subsequent events, however, make it legitimate to assume that Viṣṇuvardhana may not have concurred wholeheartedly in the outward show of complacency and quiescence which Ballāḷa thought it proper to adopt.\* It is strange that a record of about 1125, claimed in an amusing verse containing numerous pretty assonances, that Cēra, Pāṇḍya, Āndhra, Oḍḍa, Mālava and Tiguḷa (Cōḷa) respected the warnings and welcomed the friendship of Ballu (Ballāḷa): perhaps it was only a matter of wishful thinking, for the enthusiasm of court panegy-

\* Surely it was no coincidence that in Nāgacandra's *Rāmacandra-carita-purāṇa* (c. 1120-30) it is Lakṣmaṇa who does all the mighty deeds while the elder brother is comparatively inert!

rists for the successes of Viṣṇuvardhana would hardly have been rational had Ballāḷa I made any marked contribution to the attainment of independence and hegemony in southern Kārṇāṭaka.

Though brought up, as was Viṣṇuvardhana, by Jaina teachers, Ballāḷa I kept in step with the liberalizing movement of the times and became, it seems, a *śaiva*: the conversion was smooth and seemed hardly a revolution of importance except perhaps to the teachers of the sect thus abandoned. Jainism had become somewhat inflexible and seems to have outlived its wide and well-deserved hold on the affections of the learned communities, not to speak of the illiterate public. Ballāḷa was called at least once, 'a crest-jewel among *śaivas*'; in 1101 we see him on his way to visit the ancestral home at Sosavūr, redolent with Jaina associations, and making a grant to a shrine dedicated to the god Śiva. Viṣṇuvardhana made a corresponding movement towards Vaiṣṇavism, and spent huge sums on the construction of Vaiṣṇava temples, such as the famous Cenna-Kēśava temple at Belūr, now some of the finest surviving monuments to the dynasty's fruitful patronage.<sup>2</sup>

Ballāḷa seems to have been sonless, and it was perhaps in an attempt to obtain a son that late in life he married three daughters of a family henchman. The circumstances of the marriage as related in later inscriptions are quite interesting, particularly as such events seem to be in plain defiance of the *dharmaśāstra*: it seems that they were exceptionally accomplished girls, and he married them all on one day in the year 1103, giving their father certain feudal rights as a return, not for the girls themselves (for that would have been objectionable since *Āsura*-type marriages, which amount to purchase of the bride, were condemned in the scriptures), but for their 'wet-nursing'. If he had a son by any of them the child must have died soon afterwards, for within about 5 years of this marriage his younger brother succeeded him.<sup>3</sup>

§2. 1108-1128. *The first great victories and the beginnings of large foreign commitments.*

A deep obscurity covers the activities of Viṣṇuvardhana's early years. It is even a matter of conjecture whether he became



king in 1108 or 1109. His earliest inscription, referred to below, belongs to the year 1109. He died in 1142, and thus reigned approximately 34 years. It was a reign which saw few years of military inactivity and fewer in which some scheme for the enlargement of the Hoysaḷa dominions was not actually being promoted. It may be divided into two periods, the first lasting from 1108-1128, and the second from then to the king's death. The first was, from one standpoint, the most attractive phase of Hoysaḷa expansion, while the king utilized the resources of the kingdom which was still young, eager and vigorous: the second finds him driving himself and his subjects hard, fighting fiercely to retain his more recent conquests. It was one thing to fight in company with one's allies to liberate all from the oppression or mere existence of an overlord; it was quite another to live harmoniously with them once one had arrogated that same overlordship to oneself. The southern Deccan of the 12th century provided some of the hardest problems in the art of diplomacy ever known in India. We can understand something of the Hoysaḷa's difficulties if we pause to ask whether the eventual success under Ballāḷa II, grandson of Viṣṇuvardhana, was not due as much to the then prevailing dislike for the Marāṭhā successor of the Cālukya as to a genuine respect for Hoysaḷa arms or administration. The same situation existed in Viṣṇuvardhana's day, *mutatis mutandis*.

Hardly any contemporary records remain to indicate the actual scope or the precise temporal sequence of the campaigns of the earlier part of Viṣṇuvardhana's reign, and we are obliged to reconstruct them from the marvelling encomia of a period which, though later in time, was no more objective in outlook. It is, however, certain that after about six years of recuperation and preparation following the defeat of 1103 Viṣṇuvardhana commenced the delivery of a series of sudden and well-organized blows in every direction in turn. He did not make the mistake of provoking the detested Cālukya first, but repeated the plan employed by his great-grandfather and whetted his steel upon less formidable foes.

First Viṣṇuvardhana moved due eastwards from his capital, skirting the northern limits of the Talakāḍ province, and reaching Naṅgali. He then began to bring under control the region immediately west of the modern Kolar, sending his troops as

far north as the region between Dādināyakanapālya and Būdali, and retaining for a period the government of the Muraśu-nāḍ which lay between Naṅgali and his home-lands. In this project he must certainly have been assisted by the Gaṅgas and Noḷambas with whom he was indirectly connected by his father's marriage.

It seems likely that he then moved southwards and westwards, still keeping his distance from Talakāḍ, renewing old relations with the northern outskirts of the Koṅgu country, then ruled partly by Cōḷa feudatories and partly by autonomous tribes, until he had taken his nominal boundary as far south as the Cēra frontier in the Ānamale, the 'elephant hills'. Having thus disposed of possible interference from east and south, he commenced the attack on the Cālukya by aiming once again at his weakest subordinate, the Pāṇḍya of Ucchaṅgi. His success in that region entitled the Hoysala to describe himself as 'taker of Ucchaṅgi' and also 'taker of Noḷambavāḍi', the latter being found not only in practically all the records of his reign but also on his coins, which are not otherwise of interest for Hoysala political history. Using Ucchaṅgi as a convenient base he moved across the Tuṅgabhadra and entered Hānuṅgal, Kadamba territory. There, it seems, he spent a few months, sending a raiding force north of Baṅkāpura into the Halasige 12,000, which was largely Raṭṭa territory. He may well have returned to Dōrasamudra by way of Haḷlavūr, Honnāli and Kūḍali along the western fringe of the Gaṅgavāḍi province. The date of this expedition is not easily fixed, for only one Hoysala record guides us: it relates that in 1111 Viṣṇuvardhana was ruling the Gaṅga-maṇḍala in peace. Cālukya, Pāṇḍya and Kadamba inscriptions, however, provide some clues, and the gaps in their series make it very probable that the Pāṇḍya country was invaded in 1111-13 and Hānuṅgal, Banavāse and its neighbourhood in 1113-14.

His achievement, of course, had been more spectacular than enduring. Although an inscription of the spring of 1113\* already claims that he had taken Talakāḍ, Koṅgu, Naṅgali, Banavāse, Belvoḷa, Halasige, Hānuṅgal, Noḷambavāḍi and Ucchaṅgi, and was then ruling in the capital Dōrasamudra, Viṣṇuvardhana himself doubtless regarded the expedition as an exploratory series of skirmishes. The Kadamba Tailapa con-

\* This record (E.C. v, Hāsan 149) may be an ancient forgery, unless the year-name, *Vijaya*, has been misread.

tinued to reign, though his command over Hulgere was given to a Cālukya general in 1112, and in the same year the Emperor found it necessary or convenient to move to Banavāse once more to direct operations against the invader and his sympathizers. He was there in mid-August of 1114 and it may be that a prolonged stay had been forced upon him by the Hoysala's success. It is clear that some reorganization was needed in those regions, for although Anantapāla and his nephew Govinda retained Baligāve in the face of some opposition, and Tailapa's control was strengthened in Hānuṅgal, another Cālukya general was sent down in 1115 to take over parts of the Belvoḷa 300, together with the Hulgere 300 and a part of the Banavāse 12,000. By 1118 the Cālukya's arrangements were complete, and he was able to organize a counter-attack.

The Hoysala's subjects themselves cannot be said to have gained an impression of majestic expansion, and it seems, from the exclamations made when his grandson Ballāla II took the fort of Ucchaṅgi, that Viṣṇuvardhana may not have taken the fort as distinct from the town of Ucchaṅgi: as regards Hānuṅgal any acquisitions in the province would have qualified him to receive the title 'taker of Hānuṅgal'. In this period, however, we find the title Vira-Gaṅga first in use: like Vikrama-Gaṅga, which has already been noticed, it signified that he was a champion in the Gaṅga environment, implying that the Gaṅgavāḍi constituted his dominions proper. It was in the guise of an heir to the Gaṅga empire that Viṣṇuvardhana preferred to insinuate his influence among the Courts of the plateau.

One result of the expedition serves as an illustration of a feature of medieval Indian politics which we shall see exemplified on many occasions during the Hoysala period. The presence of the Hoysala army in and about Banavāse encouraged the Ālupas of Ālvakhēḍa—the modern South Kanara district covers most of this region—to invade the Sāntalige 1,000, then partly under Hoysala protection. Shortly afterwards the Halikāra *nāyakas* of Sire-nāḍ, to the north-east of the Hoysala country, came and harried the cattle of Karaḍi, which is due east of Dōrasamudra and just within the boundary of Vinayāditya's kingdom. These twin invasions from two directions in succession are mentioned in one record put up in memory of a man who took part in the defences against both. During 1114-15 a certain Baḍi-arasa

raided the cattle of Meļeyūr in that part of the Hoysaļa country which was nearest to the Koṅgāļva, and it is a matter of comparative indifference whether he was himself a Koṅgāļva chief, an inhabitant of the Koṅgu-nāḍ independent of all overlords, or a subordinate of the Cōļa. An inscription of the latter was set up in that very year at Kannambāḍi, about eight miles up the Kāvēri from Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa, and extremely close to the border of Vinayāḍitya's kingdom. Retribution was paid out to the authors of each of these raids in turn, the Sire-nāḍ *nāyakas* having to wait longest for their due.

Viṣṇuvardhana found it convenient, it seems, to vent his anger first upon the Āļupas, and their discomfiture, which could have been the result only of a single and rapid campaign, is often called to mind in later inscriptions, e.g. in one of about 1125 the king is called 'a submarine fire to (evaporate) the ocean of the Tuļuva forces'. On his way southwards he was obliged to put down a small-scale rebellion which had broken out in his absence in the extreme west of his kingdom. It is of incidental interest that his wife Śāntalā-dēvi was present at the time, and she may well have accompanied the king from Dōrasamudra through Ucchaṅgi and Hānuṅgal. The punishment of the raiders from the Koṅgu direction we may assume to have been carried out in the years 1115 and 1116. A later inscription mentions how Viṣṇu put to flight the chiefs who had ruined Koṅgu and Pāḡadakōṭe, the 'Farthing-fort' which is so far unidentified,\* while it seems that a campaign against the Malayāļas in Cēra-nāḍ followed. The whole campaign is summed up in a record set up by one Puṇisa, a Hoysaļa *daṇṇāyaka* who held the titles of *mahā-pradhāna* and *sandhi-vigrahi*, clearly a minister of high rank. The record is at Chamrajnagar and is dated 1117: he claims to have frightened the Todas, driven the Koṅgas underground, entered the Nīla mountain and offered its peak to the Lakṣmi of Victory; on receiving the Hoysaļa king's order he seized the Nīlādri (Nilgiri) and pursued the Malayāļas so as to become the master of Kēraļa; he then 'eagerly returned' to the Bayal-nāḍ, or plain-country. Likewise an inscription of about 1120 gives Viṣṇuvardhana the title 'erector of a city on the Nīla mountain'. It is more than likely that it was at this time that the Caṅgāļva and Koṅgāļva intervened, hoping to cause the Hoysaļa embar-

\* It can hardly have been the Hāga four miles N.W. of Uddhare.

rassment, and were put down by Puṇisa or his colleagues: for the king called himself in later times 'a wild fire in burning the forest that was the Koṅgāḷva king and a submarine fire to the ocean of the forces of the Caṅgāḷva king'. Consonant with such a conjecture is the fact that in 1115 or 1116 Viṣṇuvardhana sealed a treaty with the Koṅgāḷva by his marriage with Candalā-dēvi, who was certainly a Koṅgāḷva princess.

Next Viṣṇuvardhana turned northwards. It is possible that he would have preferred a year's peace, but it seems that the Pāṇḍya was the aggressor. Viṣṇu marched in the direction of Uccaṅgi and met the Pāṇḍya army at Dumme, the northern limit of the Āsandi-nāḍ and so the effective Pāṇḍya-Hoyśāla frontier. A long engagement followed, with numerous attendant skirmishes; the result was indecisive, and the only evidence of Viṣṇuvardhana's actually entering the Pāṇḍya-nāḍ is uncertain and incapable of supporting an assumption that the Pāṇḍya capitulated.

Released from fear from this quarter, Viṣṇuvardhana was offered an opportunity to relax, but he seems to have understood the virtue of pressing forward, especially when the enemy expect the opposite. Before March 1117 the status of the Hoyśāla had been enhanced by a resounding triumph which brought in its train a series of minor if no less fruitful military successes. Very few, indeed, of the long lists of titles which breathless bards now began to recite were founded upon achievements from which the Hoyśāla's treasury may be said to have derived substantial gains, but they remain as an interesting record of astonishing speed and remarkable military enterprise. Viṣṇuvardhana was boldly rapacious, recognizing no limit to his scope, addicted to constant movement. His ambition compelled every province within reach to contribute battle-honours to his standards. It was fortunate for him that he met, during the first period, no very determined obstacle.

The king put his army under the command of an aristocratic general by name Gaṅga-rāja. He marshalled his resources and allies in the east and south of his new domains. At one blow he took the famous city of Talakāḍ, and within a few months had turned the principal Cōḷa officials out of the south-east corner of the plateau. No doubt careful preparations had gathered a number of sympathizers in that region, such as had welcomed

Kannaḍa government in 1109-10 and were anxious to drive out the Tamilian usurper. The notion of uniting the warlike spirits of southern Kuntala against the Tamilian was brilliant, and the assault was well-timed, seeing that the Cōḷa emperor was pre-occupied with the progress of his affairs in Veṅgi. But in the event military tactics seem to have been decisive. The Hoysaḷa army approached the province from the north-west, possibly passing through Kannambāḍi. The news reached Talakāḍ itself, and the senior Cōḷa governor in the district came out to meet Gaṅga-rāja. He was a member of the well-known Adigaimān family of Tagaḍūr, otherwise Dharmapuri, south of the Ghats, and his Kannaḍa enemies referred to him as Adiga, Adiyama or Adiyamā. Had he drawn up his troops on the east bank of the river there might have been a reasonable chance that Talakāḍ would have remained in his master's hands, but he crossed the Kāvēri and set his forces with their backs to the river. One searches in vain for a motive for this action. It might seem that he despised Viṣṇuvārdhana's general, seeing that to his knowledge the latter had avoided contact with the Talakāḍ province during the past decade. The reference to Talakāḍ in the inscription of 1113\* cannot refer to any serious attack during Viṣṇuvardhana's reign as king, if the conception of his campaigns as outlined in this chapter is correct. But the disposition of Adiyama's troops suggests the opposite of the first suggestion. He more probably felt that troops that had perhaps not seen action for a long period and who were about to be faced by the Hoysaḷa, the only great power besides himself on the plateau south of the Tuṅgabhadra, would resist more effectively if they had the river behind them—a fact which would check any tendency to flight. It must be remembered that the Kāvēri then was deeper and somewhat wider in channel than it is now.

Gaṅga-rāja surveyed the scene at leisure, and asked the king for a boon; he was readily granted several villages, most of which he seems to have granted immediately for religious purposes, presumably to provide for his own spiritual welfare should he die in battle. He then summoned the Cōḷa commander to surrender the Talakāḍ province. When this was refused, he drove the enemy in a south-easterly direction along the river bank,

\* See above, p. 45.

until they fled before him into the fortress of Talakāḍ itself, which lay in the bend of the river immediately upon its north bank. Doubtless the river was comparatively easy to ford at that season, but numbers of Adiyama's troops must have been lost in the confusion of the crossing. Without wasting time Viṣṇuvardhana assailed the fort, and took it. The fate of Adiyama is unknown, but it is almost certain that he was killed. At once the Hoysaḷa struck out eastwards in pursuit of the other Cōḷa governors, who had signally failed to assist their colleague. A certain Dāmōḍara fled in the direction of Kāñci; another, by name Narasiṅga-varma, fled and was put to death in the neighbourhood of Beṅgiri. Contemporary Hoysaḷa inscriptions make merry over the details of this rout, and numerous poetical effusions celebrate Gaṅga-rāja's success: it may be summed up in two verses in praise of that general in an inscription of about 1178:

'Having remained till now in Talakāḍ astonishing people by his valour, which put to flight many in any number of battles, the *sāmanta* Dāmōḍara, turning now his back on the fight through great fear of the blows of Gaṅga-rāja's sword, lives like a *śaiva* ascetic eating from a skull from which a dog will not eat.'

'Marching alone rapidly, taunting and making them lose courage, he thus put them to flight. Moreover, he put to flight Narasiṅga-varma and all the other *sāmantas* of the Cōḷa above the *ghats* and brought the whole *nāḍ* under the dominion of a single umbrella, and handed it (to Viṣṇuvardhana).'

A verse concerning Viṣṇuvardhana which occurs frequently in inscriptions comments:

'First of all taking into his arms the Lakṣmi (goddess of wealth) of the Hoysaḷa kingdom, his inheritance, while his fortune shone, his strength sufficed, his might increased, and his command prevailed, he overpowered all points of the compass, and, capturing Talakāḍ, became himself the first in the Gaṅga kingdom—King Viṣṇu, promoter of the Yadu race.'

The Kannaḍa poet saw in imagination the Cōḷa Kulōttuṅga grieved and disconcerted by the loss of his possessions in Karṇāṭaka. He calls that ruler, somewhat slightly, by the name Rājēndra, by which he was known as an Eastern Cālukya prince before he came to the Cōḷa throne.

'Viṣṇu displayed the sport of his valour and the rise of his very fierce prowess as he mingled by the strength of his arm in the flood

of the Kāvēri river the corpses of the army of Rājendra-Cōla, so that Rājendra, being disgusted at the utter pollution of the (sacred) Kāvēri, drank the water of wells nearby.'

Although Kulōttuṅga was by no means idle, he seems to have been unable to prevent Viṣṇuvardhana's reaching Kāñci. On his way there the Hoysala retook Kōlālapura (Kolar) and Naṅgali, both on his line of march; it is not improbable that Kōyatūr, 15 miles N.E. of Naṅgali, correctly identified with Laḍḍigam in the Chittoor district, fell to him before he reached the Cōla royal city. Between Naṅgali and Kōyatūr he will have defeated forces led by the chiefs of the Lāḍa family which had, a half-century previously, ruled independently the region including and stretching eastwards from Puṅganūr. They are referred to in subsequent Hoysala inscriptions under the name 'Lāḍa'.\* How he came by the title Gaṇḍagiri-nātha it is as yet impossible to say, but it is *possible* that he laid claim to a mountain named Gaṇḍa in the course of his operations in the east of modern Mysore.

Tereyūr or Teriyūr, which Viṣṇuvardhana is known to have captured, was probably the Teriyūr situated between the Pinākini and its tributary the Jayamaṅgali about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Hindupur. Viṣṇu will have taken it during his campaign of late 1117 against the Cōla of Heṣṣēru. If, on the other hand, as a chance reference suggests, that town was actually in the modern Bangalore or Kolar districts, Tereyūr must have fallen a victim to the Hoysala on his outward journey to Kāñci.

During the same period he took Ceṅgiri and, it seems reasonable to believe, a place called Beṅgiri also. The style of Kannaḍa script in Hoysala times made it almost impossible to distinguish *ba* from *ca*, and consequently Ceṅgiri and Beṅgiri may easily be misread for each other. That two places of such similar names were taken is indicated by the fact that in one inscription Viṣṇuvardhana is clearly called a 'Vainya in shaking with his bow the mountain which was the Perumāḷ (lord) of Ceṅgiri; he whose sword is a royal kite in destroying the serpent Beṅgiri'. The alliterations appearing in the Kannaḍa original and the fact that a proper name is seldom repeated in such a context seem to make the matter certain. It was at Beṅgiri that Narasiṅga-varma was

\* See below, pp. 74 and 77.



said to have deserted his queens, forsaken his realm and died. As a record suggests that Viṣṇuwardhana took possession of those ladies before defeating Aṅgara and trampling on Siṅgalika, both of whom were probably rulers on the plateau, it is highly likely that Beṅgiri was situated on the top of the Ghats. Rather more information is available concerning Ceṅgiri, which must have been in the hills of Salem or perhaps North Arcot district. The ruler of Ceṅgiri had an army, which raised dust that was said to cover all the points of the compass. A young protégé of Viṣṇuwardhana was detailed to 'bring tribute in respect of Koṅgu' (clearly the eastern half of that extensive district) soon after the fall of Rāyarāyapura, i.e. Talakāḍ, and within a week he had put to flight the ruler of Ceṅgiri, burnt his city, and plundered his territory. Once Talakāḍ had been won it was a comparatively simple matter for troops led by *malepa* officers to penetrate the recesses of the forests abutting upon the Kāvēri valley. It is worth recollecting that the ruler of Ceṅgiri was called Perumāḷ, a regular Tamilian epithet; the Paṭṭi-perumāḷa who is often said to have been established by Viṣṇuwardhana with his own troops was probably a petty Tamilian chieftain to the south of the Ghats whose disobedience to the Cōḷa the Hoysaḷa came in time to encourage. Viṣṇuwardhana was proud of the conquest of Ceṅgiri and assumed the title 'fire of death to the force that belonged to Ceṅgiri'. An amusing verse from a record written about eight years after the events says:

'Adiyama ran as if in a race, and learning the pace Nṛsiṃha-varma ran, while Ceṅgiri having multiplied upon that pace the proud Koṅgas learnt it in Ceṅgiri, and seeing the celebrated Koṅgas the Pāṇḍyas also ran: who did not run before King Viṣṇu, the ornament of the Yādavas?'

It seems from the evidence more than likely that before returning from Kāñci Viṣṇuwardhana's main army marched southwards towards Rāmēśvaram. That he fought at least one battle with troops belonging to the Pāṇḍya family of Madura, who had probably been sent against the Hoysaḷa at the Cōḷa emperor's request, is rendered almost certain by the reference to the Pāṇḍya, just quoted, the verse in a later inscription which refers to the Hoysaḷa striking the Pāṇḍya while the Cōḷa looked on almost unarmed, and the title 'he that squeezed in the hollow of his hand the southern Madhurā'. However, nothing permanent

was achieved, and the boast in a record of 1125 that Viṣṇuvardhana 'protected all lands as far as the shores of the southern ocean under the shadow of his sole umbrella' may be dismissed as pure rhetoric, especially in the light of a record of about 1350 which appears to accuse him of some vulgar looting in the region of Āḍuturai.\*

The task next awaiting the king on his return to the plateau was the subjugation of the Cōḷa ruler of Heñjēru and Niḍugal. Heñjēru itself is about 95 miles to the north-west of Kolar, and the march there involved a progress through the territories newly added to the Hoysaḷa kingdom. Talakāḍ and its immediate neighbourhood must have been committed to the care of ministers ordered to supplant the Cōḷa officials in the administration. Iruṅgōḷa, the Cōḷa king, had an interest in thwarting Hoysaḷa schemes: his territories were extremely vulnerable, lying mainly between the rivers Vēdāvati and Pinākini, and he drew much of his revenue from lands which depended on the watersheds of these two rivers which were now under Hoysaḷa control; it was from his territory that the Sirc-nāḍ *nāyakas* had invaded the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ three years previously; and despite his Cōḷa name he was an adherent of the Cālukya and desired the latter to think well of him. On the march from Kōḷālapura towards Heñjēru Viṣṇuvardhana took the town of Sādali. If he then met Iruṅgōḷa's forces in the field he rapidly put them to flight, and took Būdali, Roddam and Vallūr. Tereyūr may have been taken, if not on the march to Roddam, at any rate on the route back to Talakāḍ. Viṣṇuvardhana accepted the titles 'scatterer of Heñjēru', 'grim elephant in breaking down the plantain garden, the spears of Iruṅgōḷa', and 'trampler upon Roddam'.

\*For the position of this village see Map 5. This place must be distinguished from Tiruv-Āḍatturai, to the north of the Vellar river and a dozen miles east of Āḍuturai. Both places were looted by Hoysaḷa troops. The record at Āḍuturai does not specifically refer to Viṣṇuvardhana, though it mentions Torasamuttira (Dōrasamudra) and the war of the Great Northerner (*periyavaḍukan*), while that at Tiruv-Āḍatturai specifically accuses Poṣaḷa-Nārasimha devan (Nārasimha II). The latter is dated in the 10th year, presumably that of the reign of the Cōḷa Rājaraḷa III, some time after the event in which we are interested, since the record really deals with a benefaction necessitated by the sacrilege. The balance of learned opinion leans to the supposition that the record at Āḍuturai refers to an act of Viṣṇuvardhana more than two centuries before its own date, but it is by no means impossible that both records refer to Hoysaḷa activity between 1218 and 1236. If this is the case then the 'Great Northerner' was the Kākatīya Gaṇapati-dēva (see below, p. 111).

Though Būdali was probably a prize of some importance, Roddam fell with considerable effect. It was the second town in the kingdom, and a bright jewel in the Cōḷa's crown. Iruṅgōḷa submitted and thus saved his territory to the west of the Pinākini from being ravaged, but he continued to rule and to remain a feudatory of the Cālukya, and from this we may judge that he was left in peace in return for an indemnity. His descendants carried on the tradition of friendship with the Emperor and hostility towards the Hoysaḷa.

Meanwhile, subversive activities were afoot in the region north of Talakāḍ. Certain adherents of the Cōḷa Kulōttuṅga were causing trouble, and Viṣṇuvardhana returned to Talakāḍ to take over control of the administration. He decided to place his younger brother Udayāditya in charge of the new eastern districts. Hardly had he commenced to put his house in order, when a summons arrived from the Emperor Vikramāditya, who can scarcely have been unaware of the inconvenience of the moment he chose.

Vikramāditya's pleasure at the discomfiture of the Cōḷa must have been outweighed by a suspicion, which we know to have been well-founded, that the long list of titles which Viṣṇuvardhana had accumulated, together with the real extension of Hoysaḷa power and influence in the east and south-east, pointed to an intention on Viṣṇuvardhana's part of setting himself up as an imperial ruler in his own right. The interview must have been one of great interest; we know nothing of what took place, but subsequent events show that the Hoysaḷa and the Emperor failed to establish relations of real cordiality or mutual confidence. It seems that Vikramāditya was in camp, touring the southern part of his dominions, and that Viṣṇuvardhana moved north from Talakāḍ to meet him by way of Janivāra and Belūr, where he stopped in March 1117 to review the government at the capital. It will be seen that between the late autumn of 1116 and March of the following year Viṣṇuvardhana had been continually on campaign, taking Talakāḍ, racing towards Kāñci, sending an expedition towards the remoter South, up again onto the plateau, subduing the Cōḷa of Heñjēru, returning to Talakāḍ, and finally making northwards for his *rendezvous* with the Emperor. In the majority of princes of this period such activity would seem incredible: Viṣṇuvardhana and his grandson, Ballāḷa

II, were of a kind which it seems that corner of Karṇāṭaka knew how to produce, and it is clear that their armies were of the same breed. Even Ballāḷa III could, on occasion, show almost unbelievable bursts of speed, though he was equally capable of sitting down in front of a city for ten months at a time. During Viṣṇuvardhana's long campaign his son Ballāḷa looked after affairs at the capital. The meeting with the Emperor seems to have taken place to the north of the Hoysaḷa country, and may well have been north of the Tuṅgabhadra, for we have a reference to the time when Biṭṭi-dēva was on his return journey 'from the North, when he had gone to pay homage to (or attend the durbar of\*) the senior Hemmāḍi-rāya of Kalyāṇa', that is, Vikramāditya. It may not be a mere coincidence that at the end of the year 1117 a single inscription commences with the titles of Tribhuvanamalla-dēva, the Emperor. Such a thing does not appear to have happened since 1111, and even that example could be explained by the suggestion that its sponsors, the Āsandi Gaṅgas, valued an ancient connexion with the Cālukya family, or had reason to fear Cālukya rather than Hoysaḷa resentment. Whatever sentiment this recognition indicates, it was short-lived.

Viṣṇuvardhana returned almost at once to Talakāḍ, where his presence was still required. Two inscriptions on the plateau dated in the 49th year of Kulōttuṅga show clearly that Cōḷa rule was by no means obliterated, as the king's absence in the North may not have made his brother's task in Talakāḍ easier. The king's presence again in the city is evidenced by numerous records, and in particular by the one he himself had had engraved to perpetuate the memory of grants of four villages besides Talakāḍ itself and a tank for the cult of the god (appropriately named) Kīrtinārāyaṇa which he set up there after he had 'rooted out Adiyama and taken possession of Taḷaikkāḍu'. By this time a subordinate headquarters had been set up at Kolar, where, no doubt, Udayāditya was stationed. An inscription states that Viṣṇuvardhana was ruling the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 including Koṅgu, residing at Talakāḍ and Kōḷālapura. Udayāditya's daughter Ēcalā-dēvi died during this period at Vijayāditya-maṅgala, the modern Bētamaṅgalam in Kolar district. It is

\**Ōlagizal*, which Rice rendered (E.C. vi Kadur 111) 'to serve'.

interesting to observe that the policy which Udayāditya implemented was not to overturn the existing governmental machinery, but to collect the revenue from the late Cōḷa districts with the least possible disturbance. Once the Cōḷa viceroys were gone, and their underlings promoted or stiffened with Hoysala officials, nothing seemed to remain but to order the executive to continue as before. A small and gradual infiltration from the west did take place, but until intensive tank-building and land-improvement commenced in the 13th century few who were otherwise comfortably settled cared to take the dry and comparatively barren plains of the modern Bangalore and Kolar in exchange for the luxuriant fields of the western districts. The disinclination to colonize was matched by a lack of initiative in the administrative sphere. From inscriptions it is evident that not even the designation of the *maṇḍalas* was changed. The easy-going new-comer was content that part of his territory should be called Nigarili-Cōḷa-maṇḍalam so long as, in the Tamilian fashion, a *nāḍ* ruler called himself, for example, Tribhuvanamalla-Poysala-sāmantha Maṇṇai-nāḍ-āḷvaṇ.

Ballāḷa, Viṣṇuvardhana's son, probably by Śāntalā, has already been mentioned. As his father's deputy at Dōrasamudra he bore his father's titles. In early 1117 he is called Tribhuvanamalla Talakāḍu-goṇḍa Bhuja-bala-vīra-Gaṅga-Hoysala. He performed similar duties on several occasions while his father was abroad on campaigns, until an untimely death deprived Viṣṇuvardhana of his most valuable subordinate.

An important campaign was that led by Gaṅga-rāja in the early months of 1118 in defence of the Hoysala country against an army of *maṇḍalēśvaras* and *sāmantas* that had been gathered by Vikramāditya. One can hardly doubt that this army, that is said to have included the 'twelve *sāmantas*', included the representatives of the Kadamba of Goa and his cousin of Hānuṅgal, the Pāṇḍya of Ucchaṅgi, the Raṭṭa of Saundatti, the Cōḷa of Heṣṭjēru and the Sinda of Erambarage, to mention only the chief of those who would have been pleased to equalize the score that then stood in the Hoysala's favour. At a place called Kappe-gāl, which probably lay in the north of the Hoysala-nāḍ, Gaṅga-rāja dismounted his forces, and attacked the enemy in a hand-to-hand battle at night, which must have been greatly to the advantage of the hill-troops: the imperial army was routed



and considerable booty fell into the hands of the Hoysala troops.

In March 1118 Viṣṇuvardhana counter-attacked; his strength was at its zenith. The warriors who had taken Talakāḍ, Kōyatūr, Kāñci, Roddam and the rest were in good heart for a campaign against the principal foe. Gaṅga-rāja's success at Kaṇṇegāl was soon followed by an invasion of the Kadamba territories beyond the Tuṅgabhadra. Tailapa was then amongst '*maṇḍa-lika*-enemies' in the Banavāse 12,000, and the town Tāgarate, amongst the places that fell into Hoysala hands, was apparently attacked on his behalf by a certain Mudda. Without waiting long, or consolidating his gains, Viṣṇuvardhana moved through the northern parts of the Pāṇḍya and Cōla principalities, including in his programme a successful assault on Ucchaṅgi and the capture of Gondavāḍi-sthala, otherwise Gōvindavāḍi in the extreme north of the Cōla-nāḍ, only 17 miles south-south-east of Bellary.

Very little is known for certain about the years 1118-20. It seems that Viṣṇuvardhana traversed with some deliberation the country from Gōvindavāḍi northwards, crossing the Tuṅgabhadra in the vicinity of Kummaṭa, which he took, after entering the town of Baḷlāre (the modern Bellary) on the way, and then passed over Belvoḷa from east to west, taking in succession Rājavūr in the north of the Erambarage fief, Anṇigere to the west of Gadag, Madaganūr to the north of Anṇigere, and then Belavattige, until at length he 'muddied the Malaprahāriṇi', that is to say, the 'purifying' Malprabhā river! That an attempt was made to administer the districts acquired is proved by the discovery of a Hoysala inscription of this period at Sirūr, about 10 miles south-east of Gadag.<sup>4</sup>

While he was away on this far-flung campaign certain forces in the Hoysala country itself were causing anxiety. Apart from the persistent trouble in the regions neighbouring Talakāḍ, a certain otherwise inoffensive ruler of Gaṅga extraction seems to have rebelled, if indeed he had ever been subject to Hoysala authority. His small domain was in a clearing somewhat removed from the main flow of traffic northwards, but he was certainly in a position, from the upper Tuṅgabhadra valley, to be a great nuisance to the Hoysala, and it is possible that the Kadamba of Hānuṅgal or even the Cālukya himself may have

instigated his action. A general was sent against him, and a battle was fought at Halasūr in March 1120. Meanwhile a village very close to the heart of the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ had been attacked, and thus internal weakness added to the effects of the strain of roaming at large across hostile territory. The plains of Belvoḷa and Halasige were open and easy to traverse; they were moreover sparsely populated and of well-known fertility, being in fact the south-west portion of that famous Raichur *doāb* for which dynasties contended until the collapse of the Marāṭhā Empire. But the features that encouraged the Hoysaḷa's penetration aided retribution, and it is fairly certain that Viṣṇuvardhana's return was hastened by a second reverse at the hands of Permāḍi-dēva Sinda, who had now more reason than in 1104 for his enmity. It may be that in 1120-21 not only did the Sinda attack the Hoysaḷa, but the famous general Maṣaṇaya, later an arch-enemy of Viṣṇuvardhana, drove deep into the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ in the service of his master, the Kadamba of Hānuṅgal. These attacks repulsed, Viṣṇuvardhana turned upon the Sāntaras. The Sāntaras, it will be remembered, were near neighbours of the Hoysaḷa, and had been on terms of friendship with Vinayāditya. It seems that Viṣṇuvardhana realized that it was the Kadamba who was his most powerful opponent, and that attacks on the Kadamba would be hazardous unless the loyalty and co-operation of the Sāntaras were assured. Finding that they were indifferent to his schemes, he attacked them, took the famous mountain retreat Huṃca, Andhāsura, which is seven miles south-east of Hosagunda, and Taleyūr, which is still unidentified. Tāgarate also was occupied for the second time: Viṣṇuvardhana expected the Sāntaras' cooperation to be more than a mere matter of form. An inscription of 1121 credits the Hoysaḷa with the boundaries Naṅgali, Cēra and Ānamale, the Bārakūr *ghat* and, in the North, Sāvimala. We find fault with none of these, but the reference to the mountain barrier above Bārakūr shows that Viṣṇuvardhana's ambitions stopped short at the frontier between the Sāntara country and the coastal strip of Āḷva-khēḍa. As for the claim made two years later to have the Heddoṛe, or Krishna river, as the northern boundary, it seems not to have been too extravagant: not only was the Hoysaḷa then master of the land round Belavattige in the region of Nargund, but also Ciñcīlu, on the south bank of the Krishna,



finds a place in the lists of captured places. Thus, if in form only rather than in substance, the Hoysala king's objective had been reached.

But all this was in vain as long as the Cōla emperor was able to exercise authority again well to the west of Naṅgali. Kulōt-tuṅga's successor, Vikrama Cōla, was in a position to take advantage of Viṣṇuvardhana's preoccupations in the north, and several of his inscriptions ranging in date from 1120 to 1130 are found in different parts of the modern Kolar district. For ten years he held a tract to the immediate north and west of Kolar, of an area of perhaps nine hundred square miles, comprising the Kaivāra, Puda and Kuṇi *nāḍs*. It is open to question whether he ever held Kolar itself. His success seems to have been in part due not only to Viṣṇuvardhana's absence but to Udayāditya's sickness, for in 1123-4 the latter died in Kellavatti, a place in the Hoysala homeland, so that it appears that he may have been relieved of his post in the East or have died in retirement. Viṣṇuvardhana was obliged to be long away from his capital, and Ballāla again deputized for him. Insurrections added to the losses occasioned by the Sinda. Vikramāditya himself again visited Banavāse in 1122, and in that year a Hoysala inscription commences with his titles. All told, it seems that Viṣṇuvardhana wisely decided to adopt a milder tone for the while.

Collection of the land-revenue beyond the Tuṅgabhadra is not likely to have been continued for more than two seasons. The king had plenty to engage his attention nearer home. A campaign against tribes in the south-west corner of the kingdom became necessary in 1124, when Kuḷkala, which may have been the modern Kukal in the Nilgiris, was attacked and taken. While the army was engaged in this difficult operation and other troops were doubtless in action against Vikrama Cōla's men in the east, three separate raids were carried out in different quarters of the Hoysala-nāḍ, and a special watch had to be kept on the Huliyeṛu family. In 1125 Viṣṇuvardhana was in Talakāḍ, in order to keep in touch with developments on the southern and south-eastern flanks of his dominions.

The three years that followed seem to have been comparatively uneventful, though it is clear that the war with the Cōla in Kolar went on at a desultory pace. It is not known for certain when

an expedition was sent into the Tamil country to deflect the Cōḷa's attention, though it is very likely that this expedient was employed. Meanwhile we are told that Vīra-Gaṅga-Poysaḷa-dēva (Viṣṇuvardhana) was ruling the happy kingdom of the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 under the shade of his sole umbrella.

§3. 1128-1142. *Viṣṇuvardhana's hard-won triumphs and untimely death.*

Towards the end of 1128 Viṣṇuvardhana ordered a reopening of hostilities against the Hānuṅgal Kadamba. We find that while the king was at Yādavapura in the south of the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ an attack was launched against the Kadamba troops under their general Masaṇaya, and a full-scale battle developed in the fort of Hānuṅgal itself. One may enquire why this moment was chosen. The emperor Vikramāditya had died in 1127. The last years of his reign were disappointing, and when he died the *maṇḍalīkas* and *sāmantas* south of the Krishna were uncertain as to the future efficiency of the Cālukya government. In 1128 Jayakēśi, the Kadamba ruler of Goa and Hayve, raided as far east and south as Huligere. Moreover, the remarkable dearth of records for the years 1128 and 1129 in Banavāse, Hānuṅgal, Sāntalige and adjacent regions is a clear indication of an epidemic of the kind of commotion that the conflicting ambitions of a multitude of petty dynasties were wont to inflict on the unfortunate population of a rich territory. This was an opportunity which a ruler of Viṣṇuvardhana's calibre would not neglect, and the greater part of his attention was now devoted to the affairs of the country beyond the Tuṅgabhadra.

In January and February 1129 the new Emperor, Sōmēśvara, himself came southwards, in fact to Hulluṇi, 'with the intention of making a victorious expedition to all parts'. Hulluṇi was a place of great strategic importance, but its exact location has not yet been established. He found Tailapa Kadamba ready to assist him. This Tailapa had already fought a battle, with Masaṇaya in command, against Permāḍi Sāntara. The Hoysaḷa was now encouraging the latter to oppose Kadamba claims to rule the whole of the country between the Varadā and the hills to the south of Uddhare and Baligāve. The conflict took

place around the village of Īśāpura, which appears to have been close to Uddhare. Now the arrival of the Cālukya enabled their combined forces to face the Hoysaḷa and Sāntara together, and an incident in the fighting may be reflected in a record which speaks of the siege of Hañci, which is about 7 miles north-east of Uddhare. From the military point of view the year was indecisive, and the end of 1129 saw Viṣṇuvardhana back in his capital where he found Ballāḷa continuing his inglorious but essential duties. The preparations of the winter over, an onslaught against the northern allies began. The loyal Āsandi family frustrated a plot to prevent the successful despatch of the expedition. In order to forestall anticipated opposition from the Pāṇḍya of Uccaṅgi, the army first encamped on his frontier at Emmeganūr and then stripped him of his elephants in the ensuing battle, in which the chief of Huliyeṛu was artfully chosen to take a leading part. From that time forward no doubts were felt concerning his loyalty. Viṣṇuvardhana then crossed the Tuṅgabhadra, where Maṣaṇaya awaited him at a place called Baḷemerī which has not been identified. Maṣaṇaya was defeated by the Huliyeṛu chieftain, who is said to have seized the Kadamba's horses and presented them to Viṣṇuvardhana. The Kadamba country was now open to the Hoysaḷa, and the king took an important step which, in retrospect, throws light on the insufficiency of his successors.\* He elevated a certain Ekkalarasa Gaṅga, who resided at Uddhare, to the rank of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, and carved for him a small fief—it was scarcely large enough to warrant the term 'principality'—which was to serve as a buffer between Kadamba and Sāntara and was to be independent of both.† Ekkalarasa was intended to watch the Hoysaḷa's interests in both fields. With friendly Sāntaras in his rear, and this Gaṅga prince-ling as his ally, Viṣṇuvardhana commenced depredations in the territory of the Kadamba.

The effect of these seemed most satisfactory. In October-November 1130 Tailapa died, closing a long reign in a period of exceptional stress and anxiety. One of Maṣaṇaya's younger brothers committed suicide on the occasion, and for the king's death Viṣṇuvardhana subsequently took the credit. Tailapa's

\* See below, pp. 78, 83.

† It will be advisable to refer to Map 4 for the position of Uddhare (Udri).

successor Mayuravarma claimed to rule Banavāse, Hānuṅgal, Halasige and Sāntalige, but it is clear from the lack of inscriptions, as from the appearance of those which survive, that the power of the Kadamba dynasty was severely shaken: for the next ten years it was well-nigh eclipsed. Maṣaṇaya encountered Viṣṇuvardhana at the Kabbani river, no doubt while the latter was returning home in March 1131, but achieved nothing; his sole consolation was to be found in the vulnerability of Ekkalarasa Gaṅga's fief—a doubtful advantage, since the Kadamba must have known that the Sāntara family was taking advantage of his weakness to establish itself along the southern frontier of Uddhare, where Kadamba claims had so far been paramount.

As we see from an inscription at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, Viṣṇuvardhana claimed in 1131, besides his previous successes in the South to which reference has already been made, to be 'the submarine fire to the assemblage of *maṇḍalikas* of Toṇḍa', the country about and to the south of Kāñci, 'capturer of Hānuṅgal, destroyer of Pombuḷccha (Huṃca), disturber of Sāvimala', which was in all probability Kumārasvāmibetṭa, 'destroyer of the *ghats* and Roddam', and so forth, 'ruling the Gaṅgavāḍi as far as Lokki-guṇḍi'. Lokki-guṇḍi was the modern Lakkundi, the chief city of Belvoḷa, and, correctly speaking, Viṣṇuvardhana should have claimed the Noḷambavāḍi province as well as Gaṅgavāḍi, since the former intervened between the latter and Belvoḷa. In fact, from the absence of Kadamba inscriptions in the area in question until 1132, and of Cālukya inscriptions until much later, with the exception of two at Tiḷivaḷḷi and one at Banniyūr, all dated in the autumn of 1130, it may reasonably be concluded that Hoysaḷa expeditions were sent from the Kadamba territory of Hānuṅgal during 1131 north-eastwards through Huligere and the regions south of Lokki-guṇḍi, in an endeavour to conciliate support for a project to disavow Cālukya sovereignty and replace it by the Hoysaḷa's. That these efforts amounted to 'rule' in the ordinary sense is most improbable. In Sāntara territory, however, the Hoysaḷa became a familiar figure: in October 1131 certain functionaries in the suite of a wife of the prince Ballāḷa made a charitable donation there. We cannot tell whether Ballāḷa himself was present at the time at Baligāve, the scene of the gift (which is not impossible, as the cities of Uddhare and Baligāve were doubtless in Hoysaḷa hands at the time), or whether

the fact was that his wife was a Sāntara lady, whose attendants were drawn from that part of the country.

From this distance, even with the fragmentary and laconic materials we are obliged to use, it is clear to us that the limit of Viṣṇuvardhana's powers of achievement had already been reached. If the inhabitants of Banavāse, Halasige and Belvoḷa had been willing to take Hoysaḷa rule in exchange for that of the Cālukya, that fact would have been evident by now. The truth was that the Hoysaḷa kingdom, though growing day by day in material strength, had by 1130 made only a beginning to the task of providing for the people of Karnaṭaka an imperial government better in kind than that offered to them by the family at Kalyāṇa, which had an incomparably longer and more varied background behind it. Viṣṇuvardhana fancied himself as the ruler from the Nilgiris to the Krishna, but had underestimated the opposition from a *maṇḍalēśvara* such as the Kadamba of Hānuṅgal whose roots were deeper even than those of the Cālukya, and whose armies were made up of the same tough human material which had won his own victories for the Hoysaḷa. As it was, Viṣṇuvardhana had a while yet in which to learn that his enterprise could be as costly to himself as to his neighbours. By May 1133 he had encountered Maṣaṇaya again, defeated him, taken over his country and set up his own headquarters in the town of Baṅkāpura, a town of great strategic and almost as great economic importance, valued even in the latter days of the Vijayanagara Empire. From there he could at leisure send expeditions into Halasige and Belvoḷa and even Hayve, which lay between Halasige and Goa. It is a curious fact that, although we know that certain permanent public works were undertaken by the king and his ministers in Baṅkāpura, not a single inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana has yet been found either in that town itself or in the surrounding country. On the other hand hardly a single Cālukya or Kadamba inscription appears in that vicinity, except a Cālukya record at Hāvēri, which betrays the important fact that the Hoysaḷa did not secure for himself the principal south-eastern route towards Baṅkāpura. This was not the only respect in which the conquest was insecure.

A record of this year states that the king had mastered all territories south of the Krishna river, while in a hyperbolical production written more than half a century later we hear that



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Pañca-Liṅga Temple Epigraph

'having given away in religious donations the whole of his own territory, he invaded Ucchaṅgi and other lands of his enemies; invading the whole country from his own abode to Belvoḷa, he bathed his horse in the Kṛṣṇa-vēṇi'. Other records, if no less picturesque, seem more realistic. The king destroyed Masapa (Masapaya) root and branch, Masapa who had been a torment to the country, and 'wrote down the Banavāse 12,000 in his ledger'. 'When King Viṣṇu played with the great Sahya\* and Nīla mountains as if in a game, what wonder that he took the famous Hānuṅgal in half a second with a simple flip of his finger? He killed with a glance. . . . Nātha who was taking Kisukal, pursued after Jayakēśi and gained possession of the Halasige 12,000 and the Hayve 500.' It goes without saying that the Pāṇḍya-nāḍ lay prostrate: with one doubtful exception no record of that dynasty appears until 1142, so that Viṣṇuvardhana claimed to rule the Nōḷambavāḍi, and when he was recalled to the north in 1137 he was able to march directly to Ucchaṅgi and make his camp there without opposition. A claim to rule as far south as Koṅgu is easily substantiated, yet a claim made in a record of 1134 to rule as far as Rāmēśvaram was outrageous. Moreover it should not be forgotten that activity in the north made invasions from the south almost inevitable, and much energy had to be spent on problems of internal security.

In the midst of his preparations for the last and most exacting part of his northern struggle, Viṣṇuvardhana suffered a bitter domestic blow. His son Ballāḷa, a dutiful son and a capable ruler, died suddenly. His death may be placed soon after the end of 1131, though it may have been as early as 1129 or as late as 1133. This loss must have been a tremendous handicap, for the king relied on him to keep the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ itself in order. It was thus at no small personal risk that Viṣṇuvardhana persevered and managed, with frequent flying visits to Dōra-samūdra or Belūr, to keep up a continuous state of war against both Cālukya and Kadamba at a distance of not less than 112 miles from his capital. One may imagine with what rejoicing the birth of another son to a *piriyarasi*, or chief queen, was greeted. Nārasimha was born to Lakṣmī-mahādēvi at

\* The Sahyādri was the Western Ghats including the whole mountain chain that bounded the Kadamba, Sāntara and Hoysaḷa kingdoms.



Dōrasamudra in April or May 1133, and the king hastened to the capital to set up this baby as his future successor. The dangerous nature of his own work, the continual threat of insurrections and civil discord, and the need for a ruler to step into his shoes with the same enthusiasm and with at least a modicum of the same experience that had facilitated his own efforts, caused Viṣṇuvardhana, now past his 60th year and perhaps nearing his 65th, to make with all possible haste such arrangements as would best achieve his purpose. The boy was crowned at once, and given his father's titles, together with the title Jagadēkamalla; this was a sign that he was expected to fulfil his father's ambitions, as 'sole wrestler in, and with, the Earth'. The infant was given a court and ministers, who, no doubt together with his mother as Regent, formed a committee to rule in his name: he entered, a boy born to be king in a sense perhaps unique, upon his public offices in the dual rôle of a shadow of his future self and a reflection of his father.

We learn that Viṣṇuvardhana was still in Dōrasamudra in 1135, but his affairs in the north had not been static. Mallikārjuna, son of and former co-regent with Tailapa Kadamba, had engaged with the Hoysala forces and had retaken Hānuṅgal by the beginning of 1135. The Hoysala officers in the area were placed in a dilemma. An attack upon Hānuṅgal was commenced and abandoned. Yaḷavaṭṭi in the vicinity of that town was besieged without success. The village of Hāhanūr was besieged, it matters little whether or not with success, for the Cālukya and Kadamba continued to be recognized in the disputed territory. At the end of 1136 Viṣṇuvardhana was said to be ruling, having on the one side Baṅkāpura and on the other Talakāḍ as his royal cities. But by the month of November in the following year the Hoysala governor had been driven out of Baṅkāpura, and the authority of the emperor Sōmēśvara was re-established there. Mallikārjuna continued to attack the Hoysala officers in the neighbourhood of Baṅkāpura, and a summons was sent to the king to come northwards. He did so, moving by way of Ucchaṅgi, where he camped during 1137-8. As soon as he heard that Mallikārjuna had moved northwards to attack his troops near Lakkiguṇḍi, he sprang westwards at Mallikārjuna's capital. Hānuṅgal was entered and plundered while its master was joining in the work of reinstating the Emperor in Belvoḷa.

An idea of the Kadamba's relative strength and importance can be obtained from the fact that the death of Sōmēśvara and the accession of Jagadēkamalla, which one would expect to have induced the greatest caution among the feudatories during 1139—such occasions normally gave rise to alarm in every part of the Empire—seem to have left the Kadamba unmoved, and he was able to regain his capital, so that the Hoysaḷa's men had the fatigue of besieging it again towards the end of 1138.

Viṣṇuvardhana claimed to rule the Banavāse 12,000 and the Hānuṅgal 500, and took the imposing title *Vīra-Gaṅga-Kadamba*. When his affairs seemed to prosper in the north, the king sent for his son, in order to show him, child as he was, what the northern cities were like. Nārasimha left Dōrasamudra some time after the end of March 1139, and by June or July he was with his father in Baṅkāpura, which had been retaken in the meanwhile. This presence of the young boy in what amounted to a front-line station was magnified by poets later in his own reign, when they made it appear that he made an *avatāra*, or descent, into the world in order to rescue his father from difficulties with the Kadamba at Baṅkāpura! But the six-year old king was back in Dōrasamudra by the end of that year. His father claimed the capture of Virāṭanagara, that is, Hānuṅgal as well as Baṅkāpura, and had been forced to fight at least one battle with Jagad-dēva Sāntara, who had probably found Hoysaḷa interference intolerable. It is remarkable that Viṣṇuvardhana himself was content to allow hostile Kadamba lands to intervene between his newly-won territory and his home, for Hānuṅgal itself was more often than not in enemy hands between 1139 and 1141. Hoysaḷa communications must often have been precarious. The extraordinary paucity of Kadamba and Cālukya inscriptions proves, however, that Viṣṇuvardhana was able to prevent most sorts of constructive activity in the regions he claimed to rule. He had to fight often to retain what he had, but he was able to dedicate a temple in Baṅkāpura to Hoysaḷēśvara, that is to say, to the god Śiva installed in the name of the royal donor,<sup>5</sup> and one of his ministers, Hulla-danṇāyaka, had time to renovate a Jaina temple there.

The year 1140 saw great activity. A battle was fought with a certain Jayakēśi, who must have been the ruler of Goa, and an expedition was sent to Lokkiguṇḍi in order to rescue something

from the wreck of Hoysaḷa hopes in Belvoḷa. Forces were recruited for these purposes even from the small Gaṅga principality on the Tuṅgabhadra,\* and the Torapa chief seized the opportunity to plunder the neighbourhood of the depleted villages. Hānuṅgaḷ capitulated for the fourth time, and the king stopped at Hulluṇi on his way to campaign in Belvoḷa. To gain strength from any quarter seems to have been his policy, and he married Bammalā, daughter of a certain Gōvinda of the effete but popularly respected Pallava family, and is found ruling with her in Hānuṅgaḷ in 1141. He ruled a 'victorious kingdom' from Baṅkāpura in February and mid-October of that year, and, it seems, until well into March 1142. Meanwhile his *alter ego* at home, Nārasimha, was having the greatest difficulty in maintaining order, and fighting had broken out in several parts of the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ amongst jealous feudatories whose respect for the titles the young king bore does not seem to have come up to Viṣṇuvardhana's expectations.<sup>6</sup>

Hardly had the entourage of the boy king recovered from the strain of these commotions, when, in March 1142, the aged Viṣṇuvardhana died at Baṅkāpura, and one of his generals carried his corpse to the capital for its cremation. The king's eight-year-old successor was unable to secure a peaceful journey even for his father's bier.

The moment of Viṣṇuvardhana's death has in it an element of pathos, but the significance from our present standpoint is not the tragic fall of a great man at what appears to be a moment of triumph, but the contrast between what went before and that which followed. If one needed proof of the degree to which politics and political development and movement depended upon personality and the chance behaviour of individuals, and particularly the king's, the events of 1142 onwards when compared with those prior to that date would most pointedly mark the truth. A similar contrast is to be observed in the periods before and after the deposition of this same Nārasimha, though then the determination of Ballāḷa II to emulate the achievements of his grandfather was the decisive factor, and not the chance hand of death. It might be asked, what if Viṣṇuvardhana's successor was a boy of eight: surely the same ministers carried out the work

\* See above, p. 58.

of the kingdom in practice? Curiously enough it appears that even the best and most scrupulous ministers were useless unless guided and controlled by the king personally: there was no corporate responsibility amongst the king's servants; their fortunes and careers depended upon him alone, and if he was weak or undecided they individually could not be expected to shoulder the weight of national problems, and as a body they were prone to fall into jealous intrigues and mutual suspicion.

The account here given of Viṣṇuvardhana's achievements will have made it plain that his successor was left a heavy burden. We know the extent of the old king's interests, and apart from one doubt have an accurate knowledge of the area for the government of which he was responsible. Pāriyūr and 'Kāruka's (the Artisan's) Cliff', both almost certainly to be placed in the modern Avanāsi tāluḥa, must have been taken during an invasion of Koṅgu and the north-eastern fringe of the Cēra country, but it is unlikely that he ruled there for any length of time. Like other monarchs of his class, Viṣṇuvardhana received congratulatory messages from the rulers of even remote peoples and claimed to have established his superiority over them either by virtue of this fact, or because they had not offered to prevent his schemes, or, having so offered, had failed to do so. So it was that the Hoysaḷa chief claimed in the pompous and preposterous style of that day to have 'broken the bones' of Mālava, Cēra, Kēraḷa, Nolaṃba, Kadamba, Kaliṅga, Aṅga, Baṅgāḷa, Varāḷa, Cōḷa, Khasa, Barbara, Oḍḍaha and others. A genuine tribute from his descendants, however, may be sensed in the following rather difficult verse:

'In the presence of King Paramardi-dēva he is repeatedly talked about by the (former's) officers on account of the impossibility of conquering him of all Princes, in these terms: "Beware the Hoysaḷa!"'

Whatever he may have failed to accomplish, Viṣṇuvardhana undoubtedly succeeded in being the most difficult subordinate the Cālukya Vikramāditya ever had to deal with.

\* The whole of this record, found at Gadag, is recommended for study. It is edited in E.I. vi, pp. 94 ff. The most happy way of translating this verse is owed to Mr. S. K. Dikshit of Poona. For other versions see Fleet, *D.K.D.*, p. 497, Bhandarkar, *H.D.*, p. 87 and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Indian Culture* x, pp. 35-6.

§4. 1142-1162. *A disappointing period. Reverses abroad and unrest at home.*

Viṣṇuvardhana's death was the signal for the commencement of protracted disturbances within the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ itself, and a concerted effort by the northern allies to throw the Hoysaḷa out of the trans-Tuṅgabhadra provinces. The thirty years of Nārasimha's reign are not the most inglorious in Hoysaḷa annals, but they do form a picture of feebleness, inadequacy and failure: their sole purpose, if purpose we may impute, seems to have been their introduction to and provocation of the dramatic revival under Ballāḷa II. As it was, the high hopes of the 1130's were dashed, and with them went the spontaneity and vigour of the early campaigns.

The emperor Jagadēkamalla lost no time, but moved steadily southwards, and Baṅkāpura and the whole of the Hānuṅgaḷ 500 and its environs were recaptured for the allies well before the end of the first year after Viṣṇuvardhana's death. Further to the east the land on both sides of the Tuṅgabhadra as far south as Harihara, which is on the same latitude as Banavāse, fell into the hands of a Sinda feudatory of the Emperor before August 1143. The Emperor himself seems to have revived a very old method of administration with a view to the better prosecution of the war, governing the districts through his own *daṇḍāyakas* directly, the native dynasties being placed under their jurisdiction. A kind of compromise in fact resulted, but the *maṇḍalīkas* and *sāmāntas* were prevented for several years from enjoying their chief pastime, the prosecution of feuds among themselves. It is remarkable that when supervision from Kalyāṇa was relaxed, turmoil broke out, and that, though well aware of this, the Hoysaḷa king failed after 1142 to take advantage of it. From this it appears that Nārasimha or his advisors preferred the cautious answer to the problem of territorial expansion, whereas Viṣṇuvardhana had preferred the other.

The paucity of inscriptions in the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ between 1141 and 1144 suggests that the war and the loss of Baṅkāpura and Hānuṅgaḷ had led to a retrenchment in public benefactions, not to speak of the effect of attacks from other quarters. Inroads from west and south had to be answered and expeditions apparently inflicted reprisals.

Kadamba, Sinda and Pāṇḍya now rejoiced in the new turn of events. The Emperor seems to have employed some Muslim mercenaries, and they must have helped to turn the tide. Moreover he seems to have invited a relation of Nārasimha—it may not have been Eṇṇaṅga, the son of Udayāditya, who would be the obvious choice—to claim the Hoysaḷa throne, and the rival claimant was supplied with an imperial escort. Nārasimha's followers, remembering his father, stood firm, and the attempt was repulsed without prolonged efforts. In October 1143 the Hoysaḷa raised a great army to attack the Kadamba, and, with the object of cutting the flow of trade through the Kadamba towns, attacked Māhaḷige, a place otherwise unimportant and remote both from Hoysaḷa territory and the main hub of affairs. It was a failure. A Kadamba officer by name Maṣaṇaya, probably *not* the famous enemy of that name, was killed, but this seems the only cause of satisfaction the Hoysaḷa then had. Cāvunḍarasa Sinda had cause to congratulate himself in a conflict with Nārasimha's troops, and the Pāṇḍya seems to have been given a new lease of life: Vira-Pāṇḍya happily subordinated himself to the Cālukya and complacently recorded that the latter had captured the Hoysaḷa's elephant of state. Pāṇḍya control was extended to the furthest possible limits southwards, and was checked not by the Hoysaḷa, but by a certain *nāyaka* of Hoḷal-kere\* who recognized no overlord. In his *Śaṅḡita-cūḍāmaṇi* Jagadēkamalla Cālukya himself mentions among his titles that he 'snatched the very abundant wealth of the Hoysaḷa'. From the subdued tone of many of Nārasimha's inscriptions it is evident that the Emperor had at once deprived him of the special advantages in point of income, prestige and influence which his father had laboured for many years to secure. The title Jagadēkamalla now began to be borne by Nārasimha not as sign of power but as a badge of humility toward the Emperor whose name it was.

Troubles never came singly, and Nārasimha was harassed by activity on the part of the long-dormant Caṅgāḷva. The latter seems to have raised an army, probably from among the many discharged soldiers that must have been available, and taken advantage of Nārasimha's preoccupations 100 miles to

\* 7 miles E.N.E. of Dummē.

the north, ravaging villages that were close to his hilly and almost inaccessible domain. In the latter part of 1145 an expedition was fitted out to deal with this menace, and found itself involved with a general insurrection in Bayal-nāḍ and along the whole length of the southern frontier, which had in previous years been sufficiently troublesome to Viṣṇuvardhana himself. The Caṅgāḷva led this confederacy and the Hoysaḷa army engaged with him in a battle involving foot, horse and elephants, in which Gōvi-dēva of Huliyeṛu, a noteworthy member of a famous house, gained distinction, and the general Bōkimayya demonstrated that the king's forces were still to be feared. Order there was soon re-established. But no sooner had the army returned from the south when it was called upon to put down an enormous riot which had broken out not ten miles from the capital. It had begun as a cattle-raid from the west, and had developed into something far more serious; two villages had been attacked and two *heggaḍes* lost their lives, besides many people of less consequence. Nārasimha himself moved from Dōrasamudra southwards to Koṇḍāḷa, and we may not be rash in supposing that this was nominally to meet the victorious army and actually to avoid the disturbances near the capital. It seems that this was one of the three occasions when he went outside Dōrasamudra.

The years that followed were punctuated by acts of lawlessness, and the weakness and preoccupation of the government are clearly demonstrated. Cow-harrying occurred on at least two occasions in 1146 and 1147, and Gōvi-dēva of Huliyeṛu fought on the Hoysaḷa's behalf against a foe, who may well have been the Cōḷa of Heṇḷeṛu, against whom the Hoysaḷa was obliged to send a force in the autumn of 1149, and with whom he seems to have contracted a marriage alliance between then and 1160. Nārasimha seems to have been fairly content with his achievements, and the style of his inscriptions is indescribably bombastic and boastful, as if to shame Fortune into bringing back the prosperity of Viṣṇuvardhana's days.

After about six years, in which Nārasimha must have combined the processes of growing up himself and organizing the resources of his troubled kingdom, he was invited to interest himself in the north. Since 1152 a certain Mahādēvarasa had been ruling the Banavāse 12,000 and Huliḡere 300 in the name of the Cālukya Trailōkyamalla, second son of Sōmēśvara III. He it was who,

it seems, was responsible for the disturbances that broke out in that year in the territory of Ekkalarasa, the Gaṅga ruler of Uddhare, whose prosperity had been entirely due to the intervention of Viṣṇuvardhana in 1129-30. In 1154 Barmarasa, the ruler of Gutti, the modern Chandragutti, raided Naduhalli, which was only 5 miles from Gutti, though probably within Ekkalarasa's dominions. It seems very likely that Ekkalarasa asked Nārasimha to come and help him, and suggested that he might recover for himself the territories lost since 1142. Nārasimha, then in his 21st year, marched northwards, met and fought with a subordinate of Mahādēvarasa, reached Banavāse, stayed there a while and then withdrew. After this he was annointed to the *vīra-paṭṭa*, in other words received a special decoration for bravery, and adopted the title 'Lion to the row of sons of King Sōmēśvara'! It seems that his withdrawal was accelerated by further trouble in the east and south, for as soon as he had left for the north an invasion was led by representatives of the Cōḷa into the eastern parts of the plateau. It will be remembered that Vikrama Cōḷa's rule in Kolar district had been ended soon after 1130. The weakness of Nārasimha's government had suggested to the feudatories in that quarter that the time was ripe for a revolution, and they had encouraged the Cōḷa of that period to gather a force of malcontents, including disaffected families from Koṅgu and representatives of the ancient Pallava line. An inscription of Rājarājadeva Cōḷa is found at Kendatṭi, in the vicinity of Kolar, dated in his 7th year, which must be 1153-54. Bōkimayya was sent to put down the insurrection and drive out the Cōḷa, and he occupied himself during the next two years at least in effecting this. Much fighting in the east occurred in the course of 1156. Enough was still in progress, though Bōkimayya had won additional laurels, to attract the interest of Nārasimha. He went from Banavāse to Dōrasamudra and thence to Naṅgali, where Bōki's headquarters were, returning home by way of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa 'after his victorious expedition'.

By this time the Kaḷacuri Bijjaḷa, who had been an office-holder under Trailōkyamalla Cālukya, had completed his usurpation of the Cālukya throne at Kalyāṇa. He was recognized as ruler in January 1154 in a record at Tiḷivalli not far from Hānuṅgal. In keeping with the novelty of his situation, he had



determined to bring all the southern *maṇḍalikas* and *sāmantas* into allegiance to himself, not only to strengthen his hand against the Cālukya, who was still alive and active, but also to revive the former and more efficient constitution of the Empire which he had obtained. The Hoysaḷa naturally attracted his early attention, but he was wise enough to postpone his optimistic expedition against Dōrasamudra until he had been rather more than three years in power.

An inscription of uncertain date may refer to a battle between Bijjaḷa and the Hoysaḷa in 1160, but it is certain that in 1162 at any rate a large army marched towards the Hoysaḷa capital, and was repulsed with difficulty. Nārasimha might have expected aid from his forces that were quartered in the Sāntara country, and had been awaiting his orders since the abandonment of Banavāse in 1154-55; a certain Barmarasa-*daṇḍāyaka*, an officer of Bijjaḷa, set upon these and claimed to have driven them into the Tuṅgabhadra. So little positive success could be claimed by the Hoysaḷa that room could still be found in his records for references to his 'victory' at the age of six,\* while, in the very year that his losses at the hands of the Kaḷacuri were added to the lists of failures against the Cālukyas, he boasted of taking for his own the Cōḷa country, overcoming the Mālava, agreeing with the Gurjara, assenting to the Vaṅga and driving away Koṅga and Kaliṅga. It is hardly possible to say what military or diplomatic operations, if any, lie behind these claims. The statements that he was much greater than his father, in fact 'quintuple the celebrated hero Viṣṇu', and that he subjected Dravila, Magadha, Pañcāḷa, Nēpāḷa and Lāḷa, appear absurd, though we must remember that, although Pañcāḷa and Nēpāḷa have not yet been accounted for in local terms, the words Magadha and Lāḷa really refer to the close neighbours and colleagues, the effete dynasties known as Bāṇa and Lāḍa.

\* See above, p. 67.

§5. 1162-1173. *Nārasimha's ineptitude and the revolt of his son Bāllaḷa.*

Nārasimha missed, indeed, some splendid opportunities. The state of affairs in the trans-Tuṅgabhadra districts was then very favourable to Hoysala expansion. In 1161 and 1162 there were several outbursts of violence in Banavāse province. The legitimate Emperor Trailōkyamalla, otherwise Tailapa, was far from being dormant, and his agents were vigorously embroiling the *sāmantas* with the usurping Kaḷacuri and, where that failed, with one another. In 1161 the Cālukya himself had been at Banavāse, and at the beginning of the next year Bijjala was at Baligāve attempting to undo his work. The Pāṇḍya of Uchchāṅgi had apparently taken the Cālukya's side, and been defeated, for Bijjala had land in the Pāṇḍya-nāḍ at his disposal. He set the Pāṇḍya to attack the Sāntara, and himself attacked Tāgarate and besieged Gutti, which clearly adhered to the Cālukya. The Sāntaras themselves were not at one, for a junior branch had commenced to rule on its own account at Hosagunda, its leader, a certain Bīrarasa, demonstrating a tenacity for which his line later became notorious. Gutti, under the Kadamba Kīrti-dēva, resisted Bijjala's blandishments through 1163, though it is not clear that it lent any substantial aid to the Cālukya. And in the midst of this confusion the ruler of Uddhare, Ekkalarasa, proclaimed himself the 'Hoysala's *maṇḍalika*'. Accordingly, had he wished to do so, Nārasimha had the opportunity to enter into the rivalries in that coveted region and turn them to his advantage—but he did nothing. Either Ekkala, or an official named Sōma raised by Nārasimha to the rank of *mahā-maṇḍal-ēśvara*, or both of them together, raided Kadamba villages occupied by the Kaḷacuri well north of Baṅkāpura, including Bāḷehalli, in midsummer 1163. The senior branch of the Sāntara family, under Jagaddēva, joined with Bijjala's troops and besieged Gutti; Ekkalarasa then attacked Jagaddēva; the siege was abandoned and Kīrti-dēva joined Ekkala and the pair set upon Jagaddēva. This operation satisfactorily concluded, Ekkalarasa raided one of Bijjala's villages, five miles north of Banavāse, and the *maṇḍalika* Bammapa of Gutti followed suit and seems to have struck a few miles nearer Hānuṅgal itself. But despite these efforts Vīra-Sāntara still recognized the

Kaḷacuri and joined the ranks of the Pāṇḍya and the Sinda of Harihara. Yet there were opportunities to be missed, and Nārasimha did not fail to miss them. The Sāntara of Huṃṇa, joined by the Kaḷacuri officials of Banavāse-nāḍ, launched a double attack upon Bīrarasa of Hosagunda, and, amongst other upheavals in the Sāntara country, a hostile army marched on Andhāsura, which may well have been within the Hosagunda domain. The confusion continued at the same pace in 1165. The twin attack on Bīrarasa was renewed, but the latter was by no means subdued, and gathered a coalition, including the rulers of Gutti, Bandaḷike, and Uddhare, which then proceeded to set upon the Sāntara-Kaḷacuri force at Andhāsura. They were successful, and the imperial officers were routed. This proves that had Nārasimha wished he could have found stalwart allies even at that late hour. Ekkalarasa, though we have no proof that he received any encouragement from Dōrasamudra, continued the fight and raided the country around Banavāse; Beḷagavatti was escalated, and the process of embarrassing Kaḷacuri officials continued into 1167, when the death of Bijjala at once altered the situation. The improved chances of the restoration of the Cālukya family, and the accession of a less active man at Kalyāṇa, led to a period of reaction and hesitation in Banavāse and the neighbourhood. The Kaḷacuri seems to have forgone his claims, and, with one exception, hardly a note of discord was heard until 1171.

Nārasimha's reactions to all this were singularly passive, and it is with interest that we trace signs of his having been in poor health. These are to be found in the responsibility given to Ballāḷa, his eldest son, and to Ballāḷa's mother Mahādēvi. Ballāḷa was born in or about the year 1150, and from the titles which he subsequently used it appears that while still adolescent he had seen active service against the Kaḷacuri. If he was too young then to criticize his father's conduct of affairs he was old enough to be stirred by the tales he would hear of his grandfather, tales which, however exaggerated, could not fail to portray a great man, and an ancestor of whom he might be justly proud. His own entrance into public life as an administrator occurred when he was about 14: in 1164 he exercised authority in his own name, though clearly under his father's control. In 1165 we find him 'ruling the kingdom' with the title Kumāra, as would be

expected in the case of a prince of his age. In 1167 he exercised a regency for a period together with Mahādēvi. The attack made on the north of the kingdom in 1166 may have forced Nārasimha to delegate certain powers to members of his family; the provocation came from the Sinda of Harihara, who acquired several villages at the Hoysaḷa's expense. Nevertheless Nārasimha seems to have been incapacitated through sickness or some other cause, and was thus unable to conduct the government in person. For the regency of Ballāḷa, which commenced late in 1167, was continued in 1168. In this, though a boy of perhaps no more than 17 years, he enjoyed a large number of high-sounding titles, such as 'hero without a champion', 'hero (even) with a single limb', 'of unshaken prowess', and 'bold on the field of battle', not to quote others of similar tenor but rarer occurrence. In an inscription of that year he is called Viṣṇu-vardhana Kumāra Vira-Ballāḷa-Hoysaḷa-dēva, and his younger half-brother Mahādēva receives mention in the same record. Again, in the spring of 1169 he bears titles formerly used by Bijjaḷa Kaḷacuri, 'wrestler with hill-forts' and 'the one who succeeds even on a Saturday' (the most inauspicious day of the week).

In 1169 anyone interested could have learnt from the record-department at Dōrasamudra that before King Nārasimha trembled the Malayāḷas, Koṅgu, Vaṅga's king, the Tuḷuvas, Pāṇḍya, Pauṇḍra, and Āndhra kings, Cōḷa, Lāḷa,\* Yāvana and Śaka, as well as the kings of Siṃhaḷa (Ceylon) and 'the seven islands in the midst of the sea'. Strangely enough no similar terrors seemed to assail petty rulers whose very names we hardly know. In that same year there were again disturbances in the eastern districts, and a fairly serious outbreak developed there in 1170. In the following year a punitive expedition was undertaken against the south-west, and Moḷateyabiḍu in Koṅḡḷva territory was attacked. Apparently the Sinda of Harihara made further encroachments in the north, and an elephant troop and an army of horse attacked Baluhada-koppa in March 1172. The services of a minister by name Lakumayya were needed to restore some semblance of order.

Amid all this, Ballāḷa, now about 21 years of age, seems to have

\* See above, p. 74.

carried some heavy responsibilities; he continued to exercise powers of government through the year 1172, and it was perhaps at this period that he began to feel active dissatisfaction with his father's misconduct of affairs. By this time fighting had again broken out in the Banavāse district, following the civil war between the brothers of Bīrarasa around Hosagunda. Ekkalarasa of Uddhare seems to have been subdued for the while, and the next ruler, his son Tailapa, does not appear, epigraphically speaking, until 1176. Ballāḷa was probably galled by the failure of his father to intervene where duty and interest so plainly suggested. The foreign and internal policies of the kingdom being in this sad condition, he decided to remedy them. In March 1173 he was ruling jointly with his father; but by April he had left him and gone towards the hills in search of sympathizers. One *Tantrapōḷa* Hemmāḍi, a *novus homo*, with apparently no services to the State to his credit, made capital out of this extraordinary situation, and enabled Ballāḷa to make a propaganda campaign and recruiting drive, as it were, with a view to raising an army which should rid the north of the Kaḷacuri and at the same time force the king to acquiesce in his son's bold schemes. The tour passed off with no small brilliance, and amongst the rulers along the fringe of the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ who hastened to pay their respects to the prince, the Koṅgāḷva and Caṅgāḷva were prominent. They had reasons of their own for wishing to please the heir-apparent. With a force of considerable size Ballāḷa marched from the south towards the capital; Nārasimha's many loyal adherents attempted to bar the way, and several villages were destroyed in the conflict. In the month of May he arrived within striking distance of Dōrasamudra, but was obliged to plunder *nāḍs* adjacent to the capital. Early in June he entered the town in triumph, and immediately made arrangements for his coronation. His father, now in his 40th year, but probably prematurely aged, was compelled to abdicate, and was appointed by his son to a post in the administration strictly subordinate to his own. It is clear that many of Nārasimha's old retainers disliked the change, and we find that many considered him as the ruler even a few years after his deposition. Father and son were, of course, still members of a joint family, and the kingship was their joint property, but the management, or chiefship, had passed in this irregular manner from father

to son despite the father's being unwilling and not, as far as we can tell, technically disqualified from continuing as the head of the family. Thus it was easy for subjects, if they chose to do so, to think of him as still king.<sup>7</sup>

Ballāḷa celebrated his coronation with all the magnificence that the event deserved: the Hoysaḷa had, as it were, awakened from slumber, and the significance of the occasion excused a lavish expenditure from an almost bankrupt treasury.

Nārasimha's achievements were almost entirely negative in character, and hence the reign of his son stands out in striking contrast. Most of the apparent expansion which we might deduce from the find-spots of the records of Nārasimha's time can be attributed to the extension of the kingdom under Viṣṇuvardhana, yet it seems that in one direction Hoysaḷa subjects took over and developed land which was neglected during that reign. To the north and west of Āsandī, on the eastern bank of the Tuṅgabhadra, was a space not more than four hundred square miles in extent, which was almost certainly not exploited by the Hoysaḷa before Nārasimha's time. It was, no doubt, fertile and capable of producing a good revenue, but, though it included the places Māvanakōṭe, Siṅgatigere, Bidare and Purale, there was no really important town thereabouts, it was wedged between districts ruled by Sinda and Pāṇḍya, and had probably been neglected by both: if any family lost by the Hoysaḷa enterprise in that region it was probably the small Gaṅga family to which reference has already been made.\* Indeed it is possible that it was this family that had exploited the region in the Hoysaḷa's name, so that we cannot be sure that Nārasimha was entitled to credit even on that account. It was left to Ballāḷa to bring the whole region, together with that of the Sinda and the Pāṇḍya, into decent subjection to Hoysaḷa rule.

\* See above, p. 58.

## Chapter Four

### THE SECOND ATTEMPT AT ACHIEVING IMPERIAL STATUS, ITS SUCCESS, AND THE ABERRATION

(The reigns of Ballāḷa II and Nārasimha II, otherwise Vīra-Ballāḷa and Vīra-Nārasimha)

#### §1. 1173-1179. *Ballāḷa II shows his mettle.*

Ballāḷa II is outstanding among the Hoysaḷa kings in several respects, but the first characteristic which strikes the epigraphist who has the task of reviewing his very numerous inscriptions is the consummate showmanship which he displayed. From the very beginning of his reign, and even before then, he realized the value of what we now call propaganda, and sought to arrest the imagination of the people both at home and abroad by parading his ancestry, the achievements of his family, and the self-confidence of the ruler. He called himself *Vīra-Ballāḷa*, or 'hero Ballāḷa', in order to distinguish himself from the former princes of that name, and thus set a fashion to which his descendants scrupulously adhered. The titles of his predecessors were carried forward, and added to, and public money was invested in a liberal subsidy to families of 'bards' who had attached themselves to the Hoysaḷa during his time of prosperity: this was a shrewd decision, as prestige played a large part in the successes of the next thirty years, and by such methods as this Ballāḷa helped to set the tone of the dynasty. Even in 1173 we find him described as 'a submarine fire to the ocean of the Tuḷuva army, a wild fire to the fort which was his *dāyāda*' (co-proprietor by right of birth: evidently his unfortunate father); 'a thunderbolt to the mountain, the Pāṇḍya family; plunderer of the Cōḷa camp; a Bhīma in war; the Kāma of the Kali age; very inclined to the liberal delight of rejoicing the minds of all the tribe of panegyrists', and so on. And such was the confidence and energy which the new regime brought to the direction of Hoysaḷa affairs, that within four years Ballāḷa II was able to make a general attack upon the outposts of the Kaḷacuri dominions.



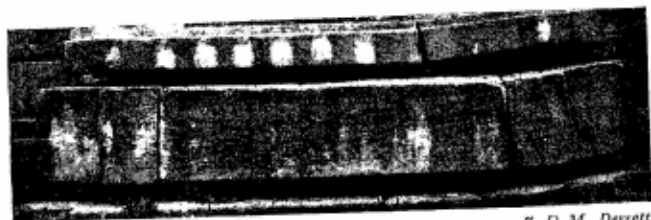
*Press Information Bureau (Government of India)*

Dancing Girl at Belūr





*Department of Archaeology, Mysore*



*J. D. M. Derrett*

*Above.* Kannada Epigraph at Sōmanāthapura  
*Below.* Tamil Epigraph at Talakāḍ

Four years was a period slightly more than half that which his predecessors had required in order to recover from a disaster or a run of misfortunes.

But the short civil war, and the long period of weak government that had preceded it, encouraged further disorders nearer home. Numerous outbreaks occurred, and two royal expeditions were fitted out in 1174 and 1175 to deal with them, particularly in the north-east, where Ballāla led his forces against Sibi, nearly 30 miles east of Huliyc̣ru, in a wild and sparsely populated region where hitherto neither Hoysala nor Cōla rule had been acknowledged. It is likely that a raid from the south was suffered in the same period, and in June 1175 Kolātūr, the modern Channarayapatna, was destroyed without trace of the culprits. The Koṅgālva and Caṅgālva were endeavouring to make the most of the unrest, and it is clear that Ballāla had to pay a price for assuming his crown by force, in controlling the very instruments by which he had come to power. His queen Bammalā seems to have been a stalwart companion; she is said to have 'plucked up the families of the hill-chiefs by the root'. One cannot avoid a suspicion that Ballāla's readiness for war in the north was in part due to a desire to find employment for troublesome inhabitants of his own country: the prospect of booty from Baṅkāpura and Lokkiguṇḍi was doubtless more attractive than the chance of stealing the cows of the next village but one.

Even before his internal difficulties were entirely surmounted, with admirable suddenness and vigour, at the end of August or the beginning of September 1177, he launched a powerful attack upon Ucchaṅgi, escalated the fort itself, took prisoner the Pāṇḍya King Kāma-dēva and his father Oḍeya, together with their household and the treasury. His victory there was complete, but, instead of removing the Pāṇḍya from his throne and replacing him by an official of his own household, which previous experience might have indicated as the better plan,\* Ballāla followed the contemporary custom and, accepting the Pāṇḍya's submission, reinstated him as his subordinate. It is curious to note that Kāma-dēva, or Vijaya-Pāṇḍya, as he was known, never acknowledged the kindness which had been done to him, and continued to rule and to issue grants in his own name. But the prestige

\* See above, p. 71.

of the Ucchaṅgi dynasty was gone for ever, and the remarkable resilience and recuperative powers of that family were at last exhausted.

The capture of the Pāṇḍya king and his renowned fort of Ucchaṅgi were excellent and opportune topics for Ballāḷa's 'bards'. Numerous Kannaḍa verses of the first quality were written to commemorate the achievement, and there is no doubt but that Ballāḷa II was immensely proud of it. It was the commencement of his good fortune. He himself remained at Ucchaṅgi, 'having vanquished the Pāṇḍya and made Ucchaṅgi his royal city', whilst 'protecting the Earth between Hima (Himālaya) and Sētu (Rāmēśvaram) under the shadow of his single umbrella, having accomplished a victory in all quarters'. He sent meanwhile two expeditions forward, one into the territory of the Heñjēru Cōḷa, the Pāṇḍya's neighbour, and another northwards across the Tuṅgabhadra, fording the river probably near Hūvina Hadaṅgile, where Vijaya-Pāṇḍya had occasion to go in July of the following year either to assist Ballāḷa or to perform some vow or otherwise to visit the remains of his kingdom. This force drove north-westwards until it reached Muḷugunda, and there appears to have paused. This fact is of considerable significance: it tells us that there was, on the east of the hill-chain that separates Huligere from Lokkiguṇḍi, a force, perhaps deployed between Gadag and Koppaṇa, of sufficient strength to make the Hoysaḷa generals hesitate to make a frontal attack northwards across the river, while the Gutta at Guttavoḷal was unable effectively to challenge a movement which necessarily exposed its flank to him. At the same time the Kaḷacuri Emperor's forces north of Muḷugunda, that is, around Anṇigere, were as strong as those in the Baṅkāpura region were weak or unprepared. These facts ascertained, Ballāḷa satisfied himself with accepting the submission of the Cōḷa who had been ruling since Iruṅḡōḷa's death the elongated kingdom which had Heñjēru as the capital city and Niḍugal as the chief fortress.<sup>1</sup> He then concentrated on the problem of the Banavāse district. A brief explanation of the political situation there will account not only for the ease with which Ballāḷa's task-force reached Muḷugunda, but perhaps also for his choice of that particular time for the invasion of the Pāṇḍya-nāḍ itself.

The Cālukya family, deprived of its Empire, had by no means

lost its vitality: the result of the rivalry between partisans of Cālukya and Kaṭacuri was that no records of this period in Banavāse, Hānuṅgal, Huligere or Sāntalige acknowledge either of them. Those districts formed a kind of no-man's-land between the Kaṭacuri Empire and the Hoysaḷa's forward posts. The situation had enabled Tailapa, son of Ekkalarasa of Uddhare, to regain something of his father's power, and he used it to annoy the Kadamba as much as possible. Vikramāditya Gutta seems to have been a partisan of the Kaṭacuri, and to have suffered at one moment the treatment which was generally meted out in that region to agents of the Kaṭacuri, and, if the rulers are correctly identified, some promotion to territorial jurisdiction in the Banavāse-nāḍ the next. Raiders even went as far as from Ucchaṅgi—of course prior to the Hoysaḷa capture of that place—to Kuppattūr on the road from Hānuṅgal to Baligāve in order to join in the plundering forays which were going on there. While Vikramāditya looted Tailapa's country, Tailapa and a friend from Bandaḷike directed a siege of Gutti. Since the Gutta was thus preoccupied, Ballāḷa was able to send a force across the apex of his fief with impunity.

A ruler of Ballāḷa's energy was not likely to waste the splendid opportunity which these commotions presented. Between September and December 1177, during a period when earlier generations had been content to enjoy a seasonal armistice, he invaded the Banavāse 12,000 in force and inflicted heavy losses on all but Tailapa impartially. The fires from the burning cities of Noḷambavāḍi and Banavāse, one of his poets said, caused Gutti to be obscured by ashes, Hānuṅgal to catch alight and be covered with smoke, and the Āḷva's country (Tuḷuva, below the Ghats) to be scorched.

After a brief stay in the capital, he returned in the spring of 1178 to continue the conquest, and it seems that during that year he took Hānuṅgal, though Gutti and Baligāve escaped him, and penetrated into Halasige and Belvoḷa, thus covering ground which had been familiar to his grandfather. Meanwhile his authority was firmly established in the Cōḷa Malli-dēva's country, as an inscription in his name at Parigi\* dated December 1178 clearly shows.

\* 13 miles south of Rōddam.

It is interesting to notice that Ballāla did not lack friends among the inhabitants of Baligāve during this period, though he did not rule there, and this must have been a matter of some satisfaction to him, as the campaigns he was planning far to the north could not be carried out while the lands flanking his lines of communication with Dōrasamudra were uniformly hostile. Certain persons claimed to have 'acquired renown having caused satisfaction to the *Malaparol gaṇḍa*, the Hoysala Vira-Ballāla'. The king needed all the good will that was available to him, as his deployment of forces through Banavāse, Belvoḷa and the Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa *nāḍis* encouraged an invasion from the south-east, and a campaign had to be fought in that region in June 1178.

Perhaps it was this distraction which left Ballāla unprepared for the large-scale attack which the Emperor Saṅkama Kaḷacuri led against his forces in April 1179. It is clear that Saṅkama himself, accompanied by three chief *daṇṇāyakas*, including two who had, it appears, been insulted by the rulers of the Banavāse district six years before, found his way to Baligāve by early May of that year. A series of defeats was inflicted on the Hoysala troops, and Ballāla himself found it necessary to retire to the capital. Sōma-dēva Kadamba, who had perforce to reside at Gutti until the autumn of 1178, is found ruling again at Hānuṅgal in February 1180. Saṅkama's general Kāvaṇa claimed to have driven the Hoysala to the points of the compass, and Caṇḍugi, an officer of Āhavamalla, Saṅkama's successor, boasted of having taken the Hoysala and Cōḷa kingdoms. The Hoysala troops were heavily engaged without proportionate success, and the Emperor thought that he had disposed of the Hoysala. He departed northwards, after accepting the submission of the Gaṅga chief of Uddhare and confirming the tenure of the Kadamba of Gutti. It is seen that Saṅkama did not think it necessary to invade the Hoysala-nāḍ itself, and it is evident from this that the Banavāse and other districts beyond the Tuṅgabhadra were valued as highly by the Kaḷacuri as they were by the Hoysala, and that their security was what principally concerned the former.

§2. 1179-1189. *Diplomatic successes. Ballāḷa awaits his opportunity.*

The set-back of 1179 must have been embarrassing to Ballāḷa, especially as he needed a resounding success in the north to establish satisfactorily his prestige in his own domain; moreover his father must have been watching developments with mixed feelings, and Ballāḷa was obliged to depend on his support in several connexions. A commotion broke out about 20 miles from the capital, and Nārasimha seems to have put an end to it only after a pitched battle at Vasudhāre, the modern Vastāra. The accumulation of defeats in the north and disorders at home, with the possibility of more of both if he underwent the expense of raising another army for service against the Kaḷacuri, seem to have suggested to Ballāḷa that an accommodation with the Emperor would be appropriate. Nor were the times unsuitable. The Kaḷacuri himself understood that his hold on his southern possessions was very precarious, for he was unpopular, and the news he received after his departure thence showed that he had much to fear from the Cālukya. Malli-dēva Cōḷa, despite his recent defeat at the hands of Caṇḍugi, in December 1179, forgetful of his allegiance to the Hoysaḷa, recognized the supremacy of the Cālukya *soi-disant* Emperor. The Pāṇḍya was known to favour anyone but the Kaḷacuri. Signs may well have appeared that the Kadambas and Śāntaras were considering offering their allegiance to the Cālukya. Moreover the Kaḷacuri had other difficulties to contend with. To his north and east the two families of the Sēvuṇas, otherwise the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, and the Kākatīyas of Wāraṅgal were beginning to respond to the usurpation of the Kaḷacuri family by acquiring strength and resources and arrogating to themselves a status equal to that of their nominal overlords. If he was to remain free to deal with these three challenges, the Emperor ought, if possible, to come to an understanding with the Hoysaḷa. It was therefore in the Kaḷacuri's interests to incline a favourable ear to the suggestions brought to him from that quarter. An alliance was in fact negotiated between them by a certain Kuṇḷjanambi-seṭṭi, a rich merchant whose international interests ensured his impartiality.<sup>2</sup> We are left to imagine its terms: doubtless the Emperor gave Ballāḷa a free hand east and west of the Tuṅgabhadra but south

of the Raṭṭa and Erambarage Sinda territories, while Ballāḷa promised to do all in his power to undermine the Cālukya's interests in those regions. No doubt Saṅkama imagined that the Kadamba and others could be relied on to sap the Hoysala's strength; but it was the astute Hoysala who, as events showed, had the best of that bargain.

Ballāḷa now began to inspect his northern possessions; he commenced to use as his standing camp Haḷlavūr, a place in an excellent strategic position, a little less than 80 miles from Dōra-samudra, and about 20 miles up-stream from Harihara. He was there in May 1180, and seems to have made full use thereafter of its amenities: it was in a fine situation for the receipt of intelligence from every direction, while from it one might move at the shortest notice into Banavāse on the west or the Pāṇḍya or Cōḷa *nāḍs* on the east; an invasion of the northern regions was as easily effected as a sudden retreat to the Hoysala country, while the town itself was admirably placed for defence on every side but the south.

In 1181 operations began afresh in Banavāse. In March Ballāḷa himself took the field against Bāceya-nāyaka of Herbeṭṭa, while certain officers who had been in Kaḷacuri service joined him, and one of them went into action with his troops at Tāṇa-gunda, north-east of Baligāve, where Ballāḷa was intervening in the warfare which had broken out there again. Ballāḷa's attention was diverted at a moment when the excitement was reaching a high pitch: both Kaḷacuri officials and partisans of the Cālukya were at grips, and the Hoysala was attempting to make the most of this opportunity. The king was obliged to march straight to the eastern limit of his realm, to conduct reprisals against invaders and rebels in that quarter. A battle had taken place at Ummaḍi, not yet identified, and in 1181 the Hoysala feudatory in Kiḷalai-nāḍ sustained an attack of some severity, and the king himself seems to have thought it necessary to make a show of force in order to discourage Cōḷa adherents on the edge of and below the Ghats. In the course of this he appeared for a short while in the Kāñci district, but soon returned to the region which most interested him, the upper Tuṅgābhadrā valley.

As long as the Kaḷacuri and Cālukya remained possible alternatives to the Hoysala there was little chance that the latter's influence in that quarter would ripen into the settled government

which, it was hoped, would serve the interests of the Hoysala and the inhabitants alike. The function which Ballāla apparently conceived as his own was to weaken both the rival families; the best method in practice seemed to be to play the one off against the other. We have seen how he meddled in the confusion there, taking advantage of a situation which his father had failed to exploit. The next step was by diplomatic means to support the Cālukya's candidature for the imperial throne. In 1183, though still nominally an ally of the Kaḷacuri, Ballāla was doubtless delighted to see Sōmēśvara, the fourth Cālukya of that name, surnamed Tribhuvanamalla and Jagadekamalla, recover the capital Kalyāṇa which his father had lost to Bijjala. With the disappearance of Siṅgana, Bijjala's youngest son, in 1184, the Kaḷacuri dynasty came to an end. Thus the only enemy of whom Ballāla had true cause to be afraid was removed for ever.

Sōmēśvara's accession had its amusing sides, viewed from the safe distance of history. It was hailed as a revival of the days of Vikramāditya. The Kadambas, Pāṇḍyas and Cōḷas, together with their associates, felt communal pride in having by their efforts, however feeble individually, restored the legitimate dynasty; in gratitude the new Emperor was expected to restore to them a very large share of their precious self-government, for which on occasions the Kaḷacuri had shown no respect; their separate schemes would not then be frustrated by imperial interference. Moreover, the Emperor could be relied upon to protect them against the Hoysala's infiltration, and so they would in the end be saved from becoming mere feudatories of either of their powerful neighbours.

Ballāla's behaviour was a model of caution and patience. The northern princes recognized Sōmēśvara one after another, and presented, to all appearances, a remarkably united front. Ballāla fought with certain of the Cālukya's subordinates in 1183, but soon afterwards entered upon a period of quiet watchfulness, which must have been most beneficial to the Hoysala country. It was well known that the Emperor was faced with difficult negotiations with his nominal feudatory at Dēvagiri and with the Kākatiya on his eastern border, and Ballāla adopted the sensible policy of biding his time, assisting the break-up of the Kuntala Empire by indirect means. He had only six years to wait for the harvest.



He encouraged the princes to assume a lofty tone and an independent demeanour; he canvassed their support in case he should come to blows with the Emperor; he must have sent encouraging messages to the Sēvūṇa and Kākatīya and others who were known to be tired of a subordinate status. Sōmēśvara IV, instead of turning out to be an efficient and just ruler, failed to cope with the disobedient attitude of the majority of his remoter subjects, so that between 1187 and 1189, while the Sinda of Erambarage and the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum were probably loyal to the imperial house, the ruling families of Ucchāṅgi, Heñjēru, Beḷagavatti, Uddhare, Hānuṅgal, Huṃca, Gutti (or perhaps Bandalike) and Guttavoḷal were active and insubordinate, in lively anticipation of total independence—the opposite of what was in fact awaiting them.

§3. 1189-1194. *The day arrives, and Ballāḷa II becomes an Emperor.*

In the year 1189 the ruler of the Marāṭhā dynasty of Dēvagiri, Bhillama Sēvūṇa, had acquired large portions of the northern half of Kuntala, and was on his way southwards. We know nothing of the struggle which the Cālukya sustained, or the odds against which he fought. But Bhillama's progress was rapid, and the people of Karṇāṭaka fell swiftly under the control of his *daḷavāyis*. Sōmēśvara fled towards the south-west of his dominions. Though he lived until 1200 at the earliest, he enjoyed far less influence than during the first exile which his family endured. The Sēvūṇa advanced towards the Tuṅgabhadra on a broad front and occupied the towns of Anṇigere and Gadag in the course of 1190, so that the greater part of Halasige and Belvoḷa must have been in his hands. Ballāḷa's opportunity had come, for the *maṇḍalikas* were terrified by Bhillama's advance and by the ex-Emperor's presence to an almost equal degree. An important record of September 1189 tells us that Murāri Kēśava Nārasiṅga, probably a Sēvūṇa officer, was encamped at the *kuppa* of Hadaḍe, probably the modern village of Hadadi, in the far north of Mysore, south of the Tuṅgabhadra river. There Ballāḷa faced and attacked him. A prominent part in the ensuing battle was taken by a veteran of Bijjala's ser-

vice, now employed by the Hoysaḷa. The first lines of defence had clearly been penetrated, but Ballāḷa must have been ready for this, or the enemy would have penetrated into the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ itself. The Hoysaḷa army then seems to have chased them back across the Tuṅgabhadrā, but it is not possible to say how far, if at all, Ballāḷa then pursued them into Belvoḷa. In April 1190 Ballāḷa's queen Mādēvi ruled in Dōrasamudra in his stead, and it was she who took the first steps to quell a rising that occurred in the south-east immediately her husband's army went into action in the north. He seems to have come to terms with the Sēvuṇa commander, terms of which we know nothing, but which must have been requested by the latter, and then retraced his steps, marching towards the Pallava and Siṃhaḷa (Siṅgaḷika) chiefs who had caused that disturbance. These he put down, and then he returned to the capital to plan the campaigns which were to give him control of the whole of the north-west. He claimed to have scattered Bhillama, to be a submarine fire to the Sēvuṇa army, and to be ruling a territory extending up to Kal-yāṇa. The latter seems to have been a somewhat symbolical boast, but he did his best to make it a reality. So highly did Ballāḷa II value his first contact with the Sēvuṇa that, although he did not assume the imperial titles until after the decisive victory of 1192, he commenced an era of his own dating from 1190-1, instead of 1192 itself, or 1173, the year of his coronation.<sup>3</sup>

From 1191 to 1218 Ballāḷa II was engaged in continuous warfare in the north. A chronicle of his own movements alone reveals the furious tempo of his life, and the amazing stamina which he must have possessed. When properly arranged the general records of the period—and they are many—depict a fast-moving scene of conflict on many fronts, often at the same time. Out of the welter of information a picture of real greatness and superlative success emerges. Next follows a decline, ending in a period in which the grandeur of the Hoysaḷa was relatively stable, the frontiers being extended markedly further to the north-west, north and north-east than when the reign commenced. Throughout these phases the figure of the king serves as the pivot and signal of all public events. It is commonly supposed that the medieval Indian king was inclined to indolence: only active men would have been able to keep up with the pace set by Ballāḷa II.

The truce of 1190 having served its turn, Ballāḷa was ready to take over the land between the Hoysala country and the Krishna river, including that of the Sāntaras, the Kadambas and their colleagues. He told the western princes, so we must imagine, that he was now their protector against the Marāṭhā invader, and the legitimate heir to the Kuntala Empire. Where the life of the subject depends on the strength of the ruler, might is as good as right. Bhīllama was not unaware of this development, which anyone in a similar position could have anticipated, and organized a large-scale manoeuvre to enforce the obedience of those *maṇḍalikas*. In June 1191 he was himself at Hērūr, a place about 30 miles north-east of Gadag. He therefore had opportunities to survey the ground and the political situation at leisure. In the summer of 1192 Ballāḷa, at the head of his troops, marched, we cannot tell whether from the Pāṇḍya-nāḍ or from the direction of Baṅkāpura,\* towards the main part of the Belvoḷa country which surrounds Gadag and Lokkiguṇḍi. This is separated from the Huligere region, as a glance at the map will confirm, by a chain of hills, which serves as a natural line of defence for both those cities and their dependent villages. It was through one of the three available gaps in those hills that Ballāḷa intended to go, and the Sēvuṇa general Jaitrasimha, or Jaitugi, accordingly led his army through a gap and deployed it in front of the hill-chain. This army was an array of all arms, organized on the most advanced lines of the day, and composed of troops already experienced in defeating Kaṇṇāṭaka opponents. The Hoysala met it at the village of Soṛaṭūr. He appears to have camped in a long line facing the enemy, for we find that his bivouacs extended as far as Hosūr, four miles to the north-north-west of that village. He then drove the Sēvuṇa before him, through the gap in the hills, as far as Lokkiguṇḍi, where the enemy's headquarters were. The fortifications of Lokkiguṇḍi appear to have been elaborate, with ditches and towers, but notwithstanding these the Hoysala took the place by assault, and proceeded at leisure to take over the whole of the Belvoḷa country. The court poets soon produced descriptions of this victory which rival the florid accounts of the capture of Ucchaṅgi. The following is a good example :

\* Since he is known to have ruled villages near Baṅkāpura in August 1191.

'When King Bhillama came and met him saying, "I have a multitude of elephants and warriors, I have a force of horses, I have soldiers: who will fight in war, coming to grips with me?"', King Ballāla crying aloud pushed forward that (famous) elephant, thrashing (the enemy's army), thoroughly trampled on it, pursued and flogged it from Soṛaṭūr right up to Lōkkiguṇḍi, did he not?'

Thus it is clear that when the learned Hēmādri, writing in or about 1270 the *prastāvi*, or introduction, to the section on Vrata in his encyclopedia, says of Bhillama Yādava that he 'made the Hoysaḷa king lifeless' (*vidadhe yo Hoṣaḷeṣam vyasum*), his statement was very far from the truth. Nothing is heard of Bhillama after 1193, when he was still recognized at Hipparagi in the Sindagi *tāluka* of the Bijapur district, and his only connexions with the Hoysaḷa, which took place between 1190 and that year, seem to have had quite the opposite effect on that king. In fact by his victory of 1192 Ballāla II put himself in the very position which he and his grandfather had most wished to occupy: he was able to promote, amongst willing folk, the expansion of his empire on three fronts at once. Banavāse was about to fall into his hands with comparatively little difficulty, the troublesome rulers on the north-eastern fringe of the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ were open to be absorbed into a new version of the Kuntala universal state, and Belvoḷa, that long-coveted region, led onward to other attractive parts of the late Cālukya dominions.

The defeat of the Sēvūḷa seems gravely to have embarrassed the Pāṇḍya and Gutta families, who had been so far emboldened by the invasion of Murāri Kēśava Nārasiṅga that they actually fitted out forces with the object of sealing off the northern parts of Nōḷambavāḍi against further Hoysaḷa encroachments. What punishment was meted out to them after 1192 we can only imagine. Neither family is heard of again.

Ballāla's immediate success at Soṛaṭūr seems to have been facilitated by a tactical stroke of some foresight. Brahmadannāyaka had seen action in the service of the Kaḷacuri, and in that capacity had fought against Ballāla Hoysaḷa, until the former was foolish enough to insult Brahma's father, the distinguished general Kāva. He then changed sides, and was instrumental in bringing Sōmēśvara Cālukya back to Kalyāṇa. When that Sōmēśvara fled to the south in 1189-90 Brahma was left with a

wealthy fief in Belvoḷa, and was in a position to be a king-maker again, though in a more restricted field. Ballāḷa had wasted no time negotiating with him, but had sent troops of cavalry against him and deprived him of his territorial jurisdiction and, what was more appealing to popular imagination, a number of elephants besides. We can place this exploit between the truce of 1190 and the Soṛaṭūr campaign.

Towards the end of November 1192 Ballāḷa was still encamped at Lokkiguṇḍi. His preparations had enabled him to take over the control of Belvoḷa without difficulty. Gadag, 7 miles north-west of Lokkiguṇḍi, was in his hands, and he was in a position to give away the village of Hombuḷca (Hombal), nearly eight miles further to the north-west of Gadag itself. Baḷagānūr, six miles further north than Hombal, was the scene of another gift of land to a man who had promptly come to Ballāḷa's assistance. Erambarage, the seat of the Hoysala's ancient enemy, the Sinda, ever the tool of the imperial house for the time being, fell into his hands, and the discomfiture of the Sinda himself must have afforded Ballāḷa particular satisfaction. Beḷavattige, an old conquest of Viṣṇuvardhana's, to the west of Baḷagānūr, fell to his troops, and Madaganūr and Anṇigere must have fallen likewise. About 15 miles north-west of Beḷavattige lay Bādli, where we know that Ballāḷa II ruled between 1195 and 1205, and it is likely that the army which accepted the surrender of Anṇigere and Beḷavattige moved through the Raṭṭa's old capital Saundatti to Bādli during this period. They were stopped before reaching Belgaum by opposition from the Raṭṭa, and there is evidence that a frontier was established for the while a short distance west and north of Bādli itself. In addition to these regions, others which also had known the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana some 70 years before capitulated to Ballāḷa. Baḷḷāre, the modern Bellary, under a Sinda chief; Dhorevadi, otherwise Doravaḍi, successfully identified by Dr N. Venkataramanayya with Daroji, 15 miles north-west of Bellary; Kuṛugōḍ, 12 miles north of Bellary; and finally Hāluve and Mānuve, the modern Hālvi and Mānvi, were taken. Hāluve is two miles from the Tuṅgabhadra, to the south of the river, in the modern Adoni *tāluka* of the Bellary district, in other words further down that river than a Hoysala king had ever penetrated; Mānuve was nearly 5 miles to the north of the river, in the Raichur district, almost due north of

Hāluve. Bearing in mind the exceptional case of Ciñcilu,\* Mānuve seems to have been the most northerly town taken by the Hoysaḷa. The only competitor is Dēvadurga, which Ballāḷa is said to have taken.† It *may* not have been that Dēvadurga which lies 8 miles south of the Krishna, and in that case would be most appropriately located in the kingdom of the Cōḷa of Heñjēru. That Mānuve and Hāluve were worthy of attention is shown from three facts: firstly they both possessed hill-forts; secondly they protected on both sides of the Tuṅgabhadrā the exceptionally rich lands that lie between that river and the Hagari and on the island in the Tuṅgabhadrā opposite to Siruguppe. All that territory was taken over by Ballāḷa in the course of his sweep northwards from Bellary through Kuṟugōḍ towards Mānuve, and perhaps on to Dēvadurga and the Krishna. Thirdly, those two towns were the outposts of the Kuntala country in the east, for the frontier with Telingana found its south-west extremity there, and that region was thus of double significance. This is declared in an inscription of Viṭṭhala-bhūnātha, one of the generals of the famous Pratāpa-Rudra, who claimed to have taken Ādavani (Adoni), Tumbalam (due north of Adoni), Mānuva and Hāluva (*sic*). It would not be rash to assume that Ballāḷa made a point of entering Tumbalam also—the town was a short distance from Hāluve—on account of the outflanking movement attempted in that direction by Jaitugi Sēvuṇa, a movement which is evidenced by an inscription of his set-up at Tumbalam itself. The Sēvuṇa did not remain there long. The date of Ballāḷa's campaign in the east is settled by the records of the siege of Kuṟugōḍ (August 1194) and the capture of Kummaṭa, another of Viṣṇuvardhana's prizes (prior to May 1105). It may have been during his stay in this region that Ballāḷa set up a *lingam* at (?) Jāḷevaḷe 'on the western bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā', a place so far unidentified, in the name of his father Nārasimha-dēva, who seems to have died during this triumphant period. The record in which this information is given is rather late and the situation suggested here for Jāḷevaḷe, making 1194-5 an appropriate date, depends on that place's not being identified with a spot in the region of Honnāḷi where the record is found.

\* See above, p. 59.

† See below, p. 98.

It is necessary now to see how Ballāla II dealt with the territories to the west of the Tuṅgabhadra, in Banavāse and Hānuṅgal. They lay more or less at his mercy, though they were by no means as prostrate as the provinces to the north and east. While the king was still at Lolkiguṇḍi, in January 1193, one of his *daṇḍāyaka*s claimed to have united the Banavāse 12,000 and Sāntalige 1,000 under one government, a claim which we must marvel at, knowing as we do the jealousy which subsisted between those two districts. That the process was not unchallenged is shown by a sentiment recorded in the year 1198 in that very country: 'among the many districts which that Emperor of prowess, Vira-Ballāla-dēva, had by the might of his arm brought into subjection and was ruling with energy, the Banavāse district was an abode of Kāma (Love).' In other words Banavāse was a sweet-scented bower, full of all delights. No one, however, could have read those lines without a smile at the artfulness of the author, for within the conventional phrase he had concealed the name of the Kadamba king, Kāma-dēva, who objected very strongly to the imposition of Hoysala rule. But allies and antagonists alike had to accept the yoke, and Raṭṭihalli on the Kumudvati river, the now desolate Bandaḷike, Uddhare, and then Gutti, at the extreme edge of the great north-western clearing, fell to Ballāla. The mutual hostilities of the princes materially facilitated his task, and Guttavoḷa and Hānuṅgal rapidly joined the rest. The Sāntaras entered a dark period, and we hear little of them until the Hoysala's affairs had taken a turn for the worse.

A further invasion from beyond the southern frontier of the Hoysala-nāḍ brought Ballāla southwards in the course of 1193, and there is mention of an unknown tribe, by name Polagas. After a short stay at Dōrasamudra in April he again went to Haḷlavūr, from whence he could direct operations in the west, north and north-east. In August serious disturbances broke out in the Banavāse district, while the king was visiting it, and he felt the need in October to be at a more central position even than Haḷlavūr, and had gone to Bāḷguḷi, about 17 miles north of Ucchaṅgi. This town was another favourite camp-site, but does not appear to have been so favourably situated strategically, requiring forces of some size for its defence, since the hills surrounding it, even in those days of greater afforestation, presented a very wide

perimeter. The country within his immediate scope was rapidly being brought under administrative control and in the year 1194-5 four Hoysaḷa inscriptions are found there, two at Kuruvatti and one at Holal, both towns near Guttavaḷal, and one at Lokkiguṇḍi. Until March 1194 the king remained at Bāḷguḷi, returning to the capital for the summer. Certain military activities occurred in which the king took part, but they cannot be assigned to a particular campaign.

Ballāḷa now enjoyed the full status of Emperor. Since 1192 he had borne the titles commencing with *samasta-bhuvanāśraya*: 'refuge of the entire Earth, beloved of the goddesses Fortune and Earth, overlord of great kings, the mighty Lord, the most venerable one'. Dōrasamudra became the capital of Karṇāṭaka, just as the Hoysaḷa had become the Karṇāṭaka Emperor. The Sēvuṇa, it is true, had many Kannaḍa-speaking subjects, but south of the Krishna most of the subjects looked either to the Hoysaḷa or to the rulers in the Koṅkaṇa as their natural head. The government at Dēvagiri, a great distance north of the Krishna, had a distinct Marāṭhā bias, and although it was careful to use Kannaḍa subordinates in the actual process of government in the south, its outlook was necessarily different from that which had prevailed at Kalyāṇa. Ballāḷa's ideas and ambitions were large enough for this great responsibility, and had he not made one fatal miscalculation, to which we shall refer as the 'aberration', it is almost certain that his territory would have remained coextensive with his ability.

One ruler near the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ remained obdurate. Bhōga-dēva Cōḷa had commenced, despite the activity in the Bellary-Siruguppe region to his north, to build fortifications on the western side of his kingdom, obviously with the intention of preventing Hoysaḷa interference. The fort of Hāṇe formed the chief part of these works, and in the latter part of 1194 Ballāḷa threw them down, in spite of Bhōga-dēva's valiant defence, and with the material, we may suppose, built in the same district a 'city' called Vijaya-giri, of which no trace has yet been found.

\* Not to be confused with the Hāṇe west of Hūṃpa in the Sāntara country.



§4. 1194-1211. *Prolonged efforts are required to consolidate gains.*

In 1194 a certain Padmi-dēva, bearing the highly esteemed title of *Kumāra*, held the king's commission for the Banavāse 12,000 with his headquarters at Baligāve; a little over twenty miles further north the Kadamba family of Hānuṅgal, who had been left to manage their ancestral territories under the general superintendence of a Hoysaḷa official, were contemplating an insurrection; and the chronicle of the period from 1196 to 1211, when the Sēvupa drove Ballāḷa out of those parts, is largely occupied with an account of the extraordinarily valiant fight which that family sustained against apparently overwhelming odds. Loyalty to the Kadamba line turned out to be more effective than any visible 'sinews of war'. Meanwhile Ballāḷa's officials were traversing the districts south of the Krishna and entering village after village in the king's account-books. An inscription of 1196 tells how Ballāḷa took—besides the places already conventionally associated with his name—Banavāse, Hānuṅgal, Halasige, Huligere, Nolambavādi, Belvoḷa, Bāgaḍage, Erambarage, Kisukāḍ, 'Balla, Kudēri and Ayyaṇāvādi', Māsavādi, Keḷavādi, Sindarige, Ucchaṅgi and Lokkiguṇḍi. It is clear that the names here were chosen and arranged neither historically nor geographically, but as their sound prompted. In addition to that list must be added Tattavādi or Tardavādi. This last, Bāgaḍage, Kisukāḍ, 'Balla, Kudēri and Ayyaṇāvādi', Māsavādi, Keḷavādi and Sindarige are as yet strangers to this narrative. If one were to move northwards from the Tuṅga-bhadra at a point near Māgale, one would find Huligere on one's left and the Māsavādi 140 immediately in front. Passing through Māsavādi, which one leaves soon after Mevundi, one leaves Lokkiguṇḍi, the capital of Belvoḷa, on one's left and enters the Ballakunde 300, for which name the 'Balla, Kudēri' above may be a corrupt reading. Ballakunde was near Kukkanūr, and was probably part of the Erambarage dominions. Continuing north-westwards one passes through Rōṇa, and, as one nears the Malprabhā river, Halasige lies far over to the left, while Kisukāḍ, the chief town of the 70 of that name, the modern Paṭṭadakal, lies towards the right, and Keḷavādi, the chief town of the 300 of that name, immediately ahead. Beyond that lay the Bāgaḍage

70.\* Sindarige certainly has something to do with the Sinda family, to whom the greater part of the modern Bijapur district then belonged, and in whose hands were Bāgaḍage, Kisukāḍ and Keḷavāḍi. The southern part of the Tardavāḍi 1,000 corresponded to these districts. How far this theoretical occupation was translated into receipt of revenue it is impossible to say, as no inscription further north than Mānuve, itself well to the east of these districts, has so far been found. Without such epigraphical evidence we cannot establish that effective Hoysaḷa rule was exercised to any distance beyond the Malprabhā river. Ballāḷa himself was in Erambarage during the autumn and perhaps through the winter of 1195-6, for he was there in February 1196, but almost immediately afterwards he returned homewards to meet the threat from the direction of Hānuṅgal. The consolidation of his rule in Belvoḷa continued.

The work involved in all this was heavy. A Sinda ruler at Beḷagavatti, whose possessions lay across the lines of communication between Dōrasamudra and the north, had, either out of sympathy for his fellows in the north or in an intrigue with the family at Hānuṅgal, commenced to embarrass the Hoysaḷa. Umā-dēvi, one of the more active of Ballāḷa's queens, set upon him and during two seasons ravaged his lands. Ballāḷa's eldest son, Kumāra Vīra-Nārasimha-dēva, though a mere lad of 13½ years of age, took his share in the responsibilities of the kingdom. Relieved by their assistance of many of his worries, Ballāḷa was free to deal with the Kadamba. In the late autumn of 1196 he laid siege to the fort of Hānuṅgal. The result of this was that we hear nothing further of Kāma-dēva Kadamba for the next seven years. The town of Sirise controlling the only manageable routes from the coast to Hānuṅgal and Banavāse was taken for the Hoysaḷa and was renamed Ballāḷa-Sirise. Kāma was left to plot his revenge.

Meanwhile, in January 1198, Vīra-Ballāḷa, 'having returned from a season of victorious expeditions to the north for the purpose of putting down the evil and upholding the good', was in Haḷlavūr; by August, however, he is represented as being again in Dōrasamudra, but he can hardly have remained there long, for

\* It is not impossible that Bāgaḍage may have been the modern Bāgevaḍi, though no reliance may yet be placed upon this identification.

he was, by November, in the fort of Kukkanūr, 8 miles south of Erambarage, once again inspecting the state of the Sinda country. He must have left the greater part of the responsibilities of the government upon the shoulders of Vīra-Nārasimha, his queens Umā and Bammalā and others, and upon trusted ministers, for he is not known to have returned to Dōrasamudra until December, 1200. Meanwhile he was at Lokkiguṇḍi in April 1199, Huligere in July-August, and at Haḷlavūr, obviously on his way homewards, in October-November 1200.

After a period of comparative peace the end of 1202 saw activity resumed on a large scale. Nārasimha was ruling at Dōrasamudra; a battle took place at Baniyūr, not yet identified, and the king found himself at Lokkiguṇḍi at the end of the year. He was called to the west in order to attack Uddhare, which was probably no longer in the hands of the Gaṅga family who had ruled there so long since the time of Viṣṇuvardhana, and at the end of the month in which it was attacked he was again in camp at Haḷlavūr. Kāma-dēva Kadamba then began to assail several of Ballāḷa's more northerly villages, which were very close to Hānuṅgal itself. This warfare kept Ballāḷa at Haḷlavūr until May 1204, when he visited the *tīrtha* of the god Rāmanātha at Kuruva, 14 miles south of Haḷlavūr, apparently on his way to the capital. There he seems to have had but a short respite, if the business there could be said to be peaceful, for by October of the same year he was on the march again, in the course of which we find him 'giving himself and his army a rest' at the camp at Siligōḍu. Siligōḍu seems to have been a suitable place for military encampment, for he was there on a similar occasion in 1180, and from the circumstances of the two visits and some civil business that was transacted on each occasion—for the king attended to civil as well as military business while on campaign—it is apparent that Siligōḍu was in the region between Haḷlavūr and Ucchaṅgi on the north and Kūdaḷi and Hoḷalkere on the south. It may very well have been the modern Harpanahalli.\* An inscription of that year gives Ballāḷa the Bhīma river as his northern boundary: this can be dismissed without question as mere exaggeration.† Kāma-dēva meanwhile had been able to

\* Neither the Sulagōḍu in Nāgara nor that in Hosanagara *tāluha* of Shimoga district seem to fulfil the requirements.

† The claim to Dēvadurga is also doubtful.

cross the Varadā, and had raided villages within the sphere of Uddhare and Bandālike. A coalition headed by a Hoysaḷa officer was engaged in a campaign against him, but had been unable to prevent his penetrating to Jambār, within three miles of Baligāve itself. However, villages such as Bājūr still held out for Ballāḷa. The king was satisfied to conduct operations from Haḷḷavūr, where he stayed during the best part of 1205 and the spring of 1206, while his son deputed for him at Dōrasamudra. That year saw some headway against the Kadamba, and Ballāḷa was able to return southwards.

A year's breathing-space was ample for the resilient Kāma-dēva; Banavāse-nāḍ was convulsed by his movements, and Ballāḷa was obliged to undertake another journey to the north, another expedition beyond Banavāse towards the Krishna, and another prolonged encampment at Haḷḷavūr. Kāma-dēva knew what he was about: he concentrated on the southern parts of the great valley, to the exclusion of those which were less fertile and less densely populated. He was a perpetual cause of anxiety, and the unfortunate Ballāḷa was obliged to continue the oscillating movement between Dōrasamudra and the north, with frequent visits to Haḷḷavūr, until the news of vigorous stirrings from beyond the Krishna caused the king to concentrate his forces.

§5. 1211-1217. *The northern enemies become too strong to repel.*

In March and December 1211 Ballāḷa was at Haḷḷavūr, not daring to leave the northern districts to themselves. For Siṃhaṇadēva Sēvuṇa, son of the Jaitugi who had been defeated by Ballāḷa nearly 20 years before, took advantage of the remarkable successes of the Kadamba and, scorning to attack Belvoḷa or the western Sinda districts, drove straight for Banavāse-nāḍ, thus outflanking all the Hoysaḷa possessions north of the Tuṅgabhadrā. In April 1211 he opened an attack which was in fact a continuation of Kāma-dēva's own enterprise. In October the Hoysaḷa commander sent 'raiders' to besiege Bīrāpura, about 8 miles south-east of Gutti, and hence we conclude that the fighting was then 'not remarkably favourable to Ballāḷa's cause. Just as Ballāḷa had ignored Banavāse while he concentrated on Belvoḷa,

knowing that when Belvola fell to him it was only a matter of time before Banavāse and the rest fell, so now Siṃhaṇa understood the importance of Banavāse, and its situation relative to the Hoysala's communications with the north, and knew that if he could strike eastwards out of Banavāse-nāḍ towards Ucchaṅgi, or merely Haḷlavūr, he could cut Ballāla's contacts with Belvola and Halasige and the new Hoysala empire would wither from the root. Accordingly, at first Belvola was untouched, and Ballāla had obviously no fear of a sudden attack in the extreme north of the Pāṇḍya-nāḍ, for his queen Padmalā-dēvi, who was familiar with governmental duties, was ruling the district south of the Tuṅgabhadra that included Hosa-Hadaṅgile in January 1212. Ballāla himself took the field, probably in the west, for the Sēvuṇa was engaged in an attack of some deliberation against the Baligāve district, which apparently still held out for the Hoysala. But by February of the next year the second part of Siṃhaṇa's plan was beginning to unfold, though we do not know whether the Hoysala retreat was encouraged by force or the effects of slow strangulation in the south. The Sēvuṇa already had Gadag and Brambarage. Naregal, Baḷagānūr and Hombal must have fallen also. Whether Belavattige, Madaganūr and Anṇigere remained in the Hoysala's hands is open to conjecture, but is highly improbable. Nāgāvi was gone by March 1214 and a direct threat was opened against Huligere. There seems, on the other hand, a possibility that Ballāla may have held Lokki-guṇḍi still; if this was the case he was surrounded there on two sides at least. But still the Tuṅgabhadra below the ford of Māgale was untouched. In that year the Hoysala and his allies gained some successes: Uddhare was held for him, and Bandaḷike was retaken; but as soon as the king went to Dōrasamudra in the autumn of 1215 Siṃhaṇa took advantage of his absence and captured Baligāve. It seems that the Sēvuṇa's grandson, Kṛṣṇa, took part in this war, for he subsequently called himself 'a... river's raging flood in dashing upon the massive bank Ballāla', while his grandfather took the poetic titles 'fierce sunshine to dispel the darkness that was the army of the Karnaṭaka king' and 'lordly elephant in crushing the abundant mass of creepers that was the fortune of Ballāla the Hoysala king', though the latter title may have been a later composition. A certain Marāṭhā general assumed the Kannaḍa title *Hōsalēśa-diśāpaṭṭa*, 'scatterer, or



MAP 4: THE NORTH-WEST

dispenser, of the Hoysaḷa king', in the course of this war, and another of Siṃhaṇa's servants called himself 'a lion to the infuriated elephant, King Ballāḷa'. It is clear that the Sēvuṇa thought it a matter of importance to restore the Kuntala Empire to its old extent, as far as was possible, and to that end expended much personal attention and a good deal of labour and substance; Ballāḷa's obstinacy was provoking, and the Sēvuṇa, though the guardian of an immense empire, almost twice the size of that which Ballāḷa ruled, felt it incumbent on him to teach the Hoysaḷa a lesson, and made gigantic efforts accordingly. In 1216 gifts were made to temples in the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ for Ballāḷa's victory in this war on two fronts. Siṃhaṇa was in possession of Bandaḷike again and Baligāve, and had taken Ciṭṭūr, pointing southwards and eastwards. Ekkalarasa, a descendant of that Gaṅga family that had been elevated by Viṣṇuvardhana, acknowledged Sēvuṇa sovereignty. The Sinda of Beḷagavatti, whose strategic importance had already been noticed, did likewise: this defection was a major disaster, for which perhaps the excessive severity of Umā-dēvi may have been ultimately responsible.\* It was now only a matter of time before Harihara and Uccaṅgi fell.

It was extremely fortunate for Ballāḷa that he too had allies in those regions. The successes of the Kadamba naturally displeased their hereditary rivals, the Sāntaras. Accordingly, south of an imaginary line from Ciṭṭūr westwards to Nisarāṇi the land was held by rulers hostile to the northern confederacy, and therefore interested in sheltering, victualling and supporting Hoysaḷa troops. It will be remembered that Sirise was a place of great strategic importance;† that remote but extremely valuable mountain pass was in the hands of a certain Tailama, son of Tribhuvanamalla-dēva, a scion of the Cālukya family, who was undoubtedly only too pleased to inconvenience the Sēvuṇa and the Sēvuṇa's ally, the Kadamba. Malli-dēva, son of Kāma-dēva Kadamba, is seen attacking that last stronghold of the once imperial family in the course of 1217-18. A certain Bāḷeyamma was a leader of the Sāntara party, and must have been in close contact not only with the Cālukya but also with the Hoysaḷa. He took part in several close engagements, including one at Harige, where Kāma-dēva prepared a trap for him well within

\* See above, p. 97.

† See above, p. 97.

territory then held by the Sāntaras, but Bāḷeyamma not only escaped but was able to perform distinguished services three years later.

Although the Sēvuṇa was boasting of his successes, his poets calling him 'a rutting elephant in destroying the lotus-garden that was Ballāḷa-rāya' and so on, it does not appear that he had himself crossed the Tuṅgabhadra. His dependents, as has been shown, ruled up to the river, and the suspense they caused at Dōrasamudra must have been very alarming. Nevertheless, even if Mānuve had gone, and even Hāluve, in all probability Siruguppe remained, and from there Ballāḷa would have drawn a substantial revenue. In August 1217 he certainly held Oruvay, 13 miles north-west of Bellary, while in the following year Tālūru, 12 miles to the south-west of Oruvay, and Kuḍatini, then known as Koṭṭitōṇe, between Bellary and Doravaḍi, were still within the Hoysaḷa administration.

Towards the end of the year, while Ballāḷa remained inactive at his capital, worn down, it would seem, by more than forty years of almost ceaseless warfare or preparation for war, his allies the Sāntaras kept up the struggle with considerable success. Ballāḷa's relations with them were somewhat complex, and at this distance it is difficult to see how the three powers we find active there, two Sāntaras and one Āḷupa, managed to live harmoniously in alliance with Ballāḷa, but one can be sure that the effect of the coalition was the gradual swing of the pendulum away from the northern Sēvuṇa-Kadamba camp. Īśvara-dēva Sinda of Beḷagavatti at length forsook the Sēvuṇa cause, doubtless to the immense relief of the Hoysaḷa, and commenced a campaign of his own against Sēvuṇa possessions north of Bandaḷike. The Cōḷa on the other hand thought the time ripe to protect his dominions from a possible attack and at the same time to exclude the Hoysaḷa. In early 1218 Ballāḷa had visited him at Niḍugal; he now fortified that place and linked it up with Hāne, whose fortifications also he rebuilt. This work was very hastily completed, and at the same time certain villages from which Ballāḷa had ousted him were reoccupied. The fortifications remained untouched, apparently until the conduct of Iruṅgōḷa-dēva in 1276 forced the Hoysaḷa tardily but firmly to crush the Cōḷa family. But they did not save him from falling, so it seems, under the power of the Sēvuṇa, for the gap in Cōḷa inscriptions



between 1218 and 1247 and the title borne by Siṃhaṇa, 'scatterer of the Cōḷa king', cannot otherwise be explained.

§6. 1217-1223. *An attractive invitation to the Tamil country leads to the aberration.*

With fortune thus hanging in the balance, and the outcome of the complex struggle in the north still uncertain, Ballāḷa II felt himself called upon to make provision for the succession to the throne. At the beginning of 1220 he was in the capital, and it was there that he died in June or July of that year. He had, however, taken the precaution of performing the coronation of his competent and experienced son Vīra-Nārasimha a few months before, in fact on the 18th of April. The latter enjoyed a great degree of executive responsibility, as we have seen, even before the coronation, his name being mentioned significantly twice at least not long before that event, and the great southern expedition, to which we are about to turn, was left almost entirely to his care. It is however noticeable that Nārasimha, even when he bore the title Yuvarāja, did not exercise even a fraction of the influence upon the affairs of the kingdom that his father had exercised at the corresponding period in his life.

Ballāḷa II appears to have maintained to within a very few years of his death the vigour and masterfulness of his youth, and his activities betray boundless energy and indomitable optimism. Such a man was bound to prove a successful leader of men. Though he employed the members of his family with skill and discrimination, one gathers that he allowed them little initiative, and the conduct of Hoysala affairs during his reign was his sole responsibility. It is at his door, then, that we can lay the charge of having deliberately hastened the decline in the dynasty's fortunes, ironical as it is that he who realized all the family's ambitions, to within a trifle of perfection, should have been the very man to bring about the same family's ruin. Such, as we shall see, seems to be the case, for Vīra-Nārasimha was nothing if not obedient to his father, the best part of his life having been spent in his service: he merely carried forward the schemes that Ballāḷa contrived but did not live to bring to fruition. One might say with truth Nārasimha took over a kingdom in good order and in

rude health. The struggle on the northern frontiers had brought into existence a regular trained militia, whose pay was found from the northern accessions of territory; this militia doubtless included the more violent members of the community, who otherwise would have been making life in the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ itself a nightmare. Consequently the northern wars aided firm government at home, and the level of public order in 1220 was well above that in 1173. Dōrasamudra was now a wealthy and populous city, and the arts and sciences flourished under Hoysaḷa patronage: Karṇāṭaka aesthetic and scientific culture had been ousted from Halasige, Huligere and Belvoḷa, and to some degree from Banavāse besides, by the continuous warfare which had ruined the country and impoverished the princes. From all this the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ benefited. But appearances were deceptive. The main enterprise upon which Nārasimha was engaged at the time of his father's death was a definite departure from the previous policy of the dynasty. The object of Viṣṇuvardhana and his grandson until his last years had been to extend Hoysaḷa rule over areas which would not only repay the effort, but by their chaotic condition and lack of vigorous leadership invited a conqueror of similar racial extraction, identical language, and customs homogeneous with their own. A political vacuum in the north-west and beyond the Tuṅgabhadra drew the Hoysaḷa onwards, as it were, by a natural force: the establishment of a Karṇāṭaka national empire based upon the greatest and best integrated Karṇāṭaka power of the day seemed a proper conclusion to the period of upheaval which had preceded the rise of the Hoysaḷa and had continued during his first century and a half. But Ballāḷa, in circumstances which are about to be described, turned his face in another direction in his old age, where neither natural force nor reasonable ambition called him. Thus the quietness of his kingdom was in fact misleading, for Nārasimha's court, ministers and people were burdened with the distressing incubus of a historical aberration.

To describe its origin it will be necessary to retrace our steps, along a path that is rather fuller of conjectures than that which has so far been followed. This is indeed natural, as the history of a group will always be easier to outline than the fortuitous decisions of individuals, and it is with such that we now have to do. Moreover, the story now moves to the Tamil districts

below the Ghats beyond the furthest south-eastern limits of the Hoysala kingdom, and the historian is there at an even greater disadvantage than on the plateau. Laconic and confused as the Kannaḍa records are apt to be, the Tamil documents are in a still greater state of confusion and are still less communicative. They conceal a highly complex political history, and much ingenuity has already been devoted by numerous scholars to the task of reducing their contents to a connected and intelligible narrative. But a great deal remains to be done,\* and while the story of the Hoysala here outlined might be expected, by reason of the Hoysala's affairs being connected with the more chronologically-minded Karpāṭaka people, to throw light on Tamil history, in fact the results are rather disappointing. The theory elaborated below may itself join the heap of discarded suppositions, when once a discovery of more solid evidence indicates the chain of circumstance more happily.

In the year 1217, it will be remembered, Ballāḷa was witnessing the collapse of certain important sections of his administration north of the Tuṅgabhadra, and was in a position to anticipate that regions even nearer home would have to be defended at considerable cost. But it is more than likely that he visualized a time when the Kadambas and Sindas, Raṭṭas and Guttas would rebel in turn against the Marāṭhā power of Dēvagiri, and it was clear that unless the Hoysala received a substantial accession of strength from some quarter he or his successor would be unable fully to take advantage of the opportunity when it offered. It was at this critical time that he received news from the Tamil country which greatly interested him.

Prior to the defeat of Jaitugi in 1192 the Hoysala had hardly been on equal terms, socially or politically, with the representatives of the ancient Cōḷa family, which had ruled at various times in Uraiyūr, Tanjore and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram. It has been related how from 1117 onwards the two families had had reason to feel mutual jealousy, but until 1217 the Hoysala had never seriously entertained ambitions of territorial proprietorship in the Tamil plains. By that time, however, the great Kulōttuṅga III was beginning to experience difficulty in restraining the exuberance of powerful feudatories, and even as

\* At the time of writing (1953).

early as 1200 was willing to enter into intimate relations with his successful neighbour. Ballāla doubtless felt flattered at the prospect of being on equal terms with the mighty rival of the Cālukya emperor whom he was himself imitating, and took one of the Cōla king's daughters, it seems, as a wife. Though direct proof of the following is missing, it is almost certain that he gave Sōmalā, Nārasimha's full sister, in marriage to the aged Kulōttuṅga. This was a pledge of great value, as Sōmalā was clearly a woman of character and reputation in the Hoysaḷa country, and she remained closely concerned in her brother's interests even after her rather unsatisfactory removal to the Tamil country. Though a queen, she was called affectionately *Kumāri* in her own land, and seems to have retained some administrative responsibilities there. Before her husband's death she performed what then seemed a very valuable service for her brother. His wife Kāḷalā died about three years after the birth of their son Sōmēśvara; the boy was sent in adolescence to the Tamil country to stay with his aunt, who seems to have really regarded him as her own child. Sōmalā-dēvi was childless, and soon widowed, and thus the upbringing of her little nephew was a chief interest in her life. Nārasimha's family atmosphere may not have been ideal, and in any case the long-lived Ballāla was still on the throne; there seemed to be no objection to the young prince being in a foreign land, while his presence there helped to strengthen relations between the two courts. This is the real explanation for Sōmēśvara's notorious preference for the Tamil country as compared with the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ, where one would have supposed that he would be quite at home.<sup>4</sup>

We have not exhausted the list of sacrifices which Ballāla was prepared to make in order to cement this new alliance. He obliged Nārasimha to give one of his daughters in marriage to Kulōttuṅga's son, later Rājarāja III. That Nārasimha did this is proved by the instances where Rājendra III, son of Rājarāja, calls Sōmēśvara *māma*, 'uncle'. That he did so during his father's lifetime is suggested by the fact that in 1220, when Ballāla died and Nārasimha succeeded, the latter was almost 38 years of age, and only very junior daughters would still be unmarried.

When, therefore, the Cōla family, whose fortunes, especially in the north, had been failing for some time, began to experience severe pressure from their vassals the Pāṇḍyas, it was natural for

them to approach Ballāḷa for assistance. It will be familiar to those who have studied Cōḷa history that at that time no other power of consequence could have been approached with such an object: apart from the Hoysaḷa there were available none but the Kēraḷa and the king of Ceylon; both of these, however, had a traditional connexion with the Pāṇḍyas, who were geographically nearer to them, who had obtained their aid in numerous struggles in the past, and who could, if necessary, prevent them from helping the Cōḷa. The first approach to Ballāḷa seems to have been very tentative. Ballāḷa at once understood that if he intervened in the South between Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya he would place himself in the profitable position of a mediator; he knew that he could make short work of the forces of the Pāṇḍyas and their allies, and that the Cōḷa would liberally reward him; moreover he could, by devious means, turn this into a constant source of income, quite apart from the gain in prestige, and could thus hope to finish the war in the north in better style than had hitherto seemed possible. He therefore agreed in principle to the request. He did not hear again from Kulōttuṅga until the Pāṇḍyas had inflicted on the latter a severe defeat.

Māgaravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya had recently come to the direction of Pāṇḍya affairs, had commenced a war against the Cōḷa, and had been completely successful. After humiliating Kulōttuṅga he allowed him to remain in a nominal headship of the Cōḷa country, while the actual power was given to Rājārāja on condition that he paid annual tribute to Madura, whither the Pāṇḍya then returned. It is likely that he left certain officers behind, who would supervise the carrying out of the conditions of peace. The Pāṇḍya had thus succeeded beyond his dreams: he had liberated his family, humiliated an old enemy, and put the powerful and extensive resources of the Cōḷa under tribute. No medieval conqueror could have hoped for more. The Cōḷa's own hold over the great feudatories was precarious enough, and direct Pāṇḍya rule would have been impossible. It would therefore be incorrect to assume that the Pāṇḍya showed moderation in his treatment of the Cōḷa on account of Hoysaḷa intervention. The fact is that the Hoysaḷa did not intervene until this settlement had been in existence some months. When Rājārāja sent to Dōrasamudra, it was to request that the Pāṇḍya officers and troops should be driven out and that punishment

should be inflicted upon the rulers of the Bāṇa and Adigaimān dynasties, who had actually assisted the Pāṇḍya against their overlord. This latter task would be very easy for the Hoysaḷa, who had direct access to the dominions of both. The Bāṇa held a domain whose centre was at Āttūr, and which at this time stretched westwards as far as Tāramaṅgalam, eastwards as far as Tittagudi on the Vellār, and northwards to the Ponnaiyār including Tiruvaraṅgam and even Jambai. The Adigaimān ruled from Tagaḍūr along the valleys of the Ponnaiyār and Cheyyār, including Tirumalai, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and Tiruvennai-nallūr. As a Hoysaḷa force descended the Kāvēri valley it was in a position to meet the armies of both these chiefs under most favourable conditions. The Adigaimān could be destroyed by a march by way of Hosūr and Bairamaṅgalam to Tagaḍūr and then to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, while the Bāṇa could be subdued by a march from Tagaḍūr to Tāramaṅgalam, striking finally eastwards at Āttūr.

In 1218 Ballāla II was preoccupied with affairs in the north-east and north-west of the Empire, and he accordingly sent his son Nārasimha with an army to the rescue of the Cōḷa. How much sacrifice this and later expeditions of the kind cost the Hoysaḷa country can be seen from the fact that a special tax, *Cōḷa-kārunya-biṭṭiya-bhaṇḍi* ('(?) Fixed levy for benevolence to the Cōḷa') was imposed in the year 1217-18, and was, in fact, still levied long after the Cōḷa himself was in a position to benefit from it.\* Nārasimha was met by forces of the Adigaimān and Bāṇa in turn, defeated both of them, and reached the Kāvēri plain. There he defeated some Pāṇḍya detachments, comforted Rājaraḷa, and returned, doubtless by the same route, to the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ. In 1219 his success was celebrated in an inscription which calls him the 'only protector of the Cōḷa family, the uprooter of the Magadha (i.e. Bāṇa) king'. Ballāla II added to his already multitudinous titles those of 'scatterer of the Magadha (Bāṇa) kingdom, mill-stone to Adiyama (Adigaimān), architect of the establishment of the Cōḷa kingdom'.<sup>5</sup>

Another associate of the Pāṇḍya seems to have been encountered during that campaign. An inscription which refers in grandiose style to Nārasimha's acquisitions of elephants from the

\* See below, p. 200.

Bāṇa speaks of the Kāḍava, and it seems that he came in contact with the Hoysala as early as 1218-19. The Kāḍava, of Pallava extraction, was the ruler of the Vṛddhācalam district who had recently been gaining power at the expense of the Adigaimān.

Now it would have been possible for Nārasimha II, after his coronation in 1220, to have concentrated on the defence against the Sēvūṇa, and to have left the powers in the Tamil country to work out their rivalries for themselves. But the campaign of 1218 had demonstrated the practical advantages of 'mediating' in those struggles, and Nārasimha was inclined to pursue the course his father had set. There is evidence that in 1220-1, soon after the coronation, intent upon conquest in every direction (so we are told) he first went to the east, 'uprooted' the Magara (Bāṇa) a second time, again set up the Cōla who had been obliged to take refuge with him, visited Kāñci, stationed picked troops there and returned to Dōrasamudra. Kāñci was within the sphere of influence of the Telugu Pottapic-Cōla Manumassiddhi Tirukkālatti-dēvaṇ, otherwise Gaṇḍagopāla, who was nominally a feudatory of Rājarāja; it was also a town of interest to the Kākatīya of Wāraṅgal, who was often in a position to take a hand in the politics of the Nellore kingdom in which it lay. It seems that the Cōla required Nārasimha to go to Kāñci and to impress the Telugu family at Nellore with the Cōla's intention to retain his hold on those quarters, and that the Hoysala found it expedient to leave behind him representatives who could hold the balance of power there. He himself remained there until September 1221, returning home by the following December.

It is not surprising that Rājarāja III, supported by fleeting expeditions of this nature, fell a prey soon to the activities of the Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga, who acted in concert with the Pāṇḍya in the south and the Bāṇa in the north-west of the Cōla country. While Rājarāja was escaping with his court, Kōpperuñjiṅga actually captured him at Tellāru, about 30 miles south of Kāñci, whither he was apparently going in order to seek Hoysala aid. A detachment of 'Kaṇṇadar' (i.e. Kaṇṇāṭaka troops), clearly Hoysala men, engaged with the Kāḍava, but apparently without making any impression. So it was that Nārasimha felt himself obliged to commence his third expedition into the Tamil country. The Hoysala, now able to exact substantial rewards for his assis-

tance, entered the scramble for power in the rich lands of the plains, and by so doing, as it turned out, hastened the downfall of his own family. In September 1222 Nārasimha marched in the direction of Śrīraṅgam, fighting a battle on the plateau on his way: clearly the coalition against Rājārāja had some friends in the east of the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ. He disposed of Adigaimān and Bāṇa obstruction and defeated a Pāṇḍya contingent, marched briskly northwards, released the Cōḷa, defeated the Kāḍava and reestablished relations with the powers in the neighbourhood of Kāñci. He left more troops in the Cōḷa country to continue his work and to strengthen the tottering Cōḷa power, and returned to Dōrasamudra by March 1223, carrying with him an immense amount of booty and treasure given by Rājārāja. But by October a further call for help from that quarter brought him for the fourth time into the plains. Nārasimha was at the time rejoicing in a victory over an obscure ruler in the extreme south-west of the Hoysaḷa country. This was Munivarāḍitya, a chief of the region about 15 miles west of Kanagālu in Koṅga-nāḍ. Immediately after this campaign, no doubt necessitated by the optimistic rebelliousness of one who thought him too much preoccupied elsewhere, he marched towards Kāñci, where a scene of extreme confusion awaited him. Not only did the Kāḍava and Bāṇa again require to be repressed, but the Kākatīya Gaṇapati-dēva had taken the initiative in the south, and had offered to be the saviour of all aggrieved parties. His first invitation southwards lay in an insurrection at Nellore; there Manumasiddhi had been driven into exile. He drove out the usurpers and restored Manumasiddhi, and was liberally rewarded by the latter. Then, realizing the lack of a strong power in the Cōḷa country and caring little for the efforts of the Hoysaḷa garrison, he took the side of a certain Kulōttuṅga-Rājendra Cōḷa, who may or may not have been the future Rājendra III, and commenced the subjugation of the country to him. In the course of this he fought with and defeated a Hoysaḷa force. On Nārasimha's arrival, however, he was forced to retreat, and left the Tamil country to solve its own problems.

There is ample evidence of Nārasimha's military activity at this time, and the Hoysaḷa was clearly able to subdue all his enemies for Rājārāja. But he did not propose to leave that king to the mercy of an almost unanimous band of traitors: he received



from the Cōḷa a stretch of territory for himself on the western bank of the Kāvēri; and his son Sōmēśvara, who had a better knowledge of the political intricacies of the Tamil country, was put in charge of it, though he was only 18 years of age. The activity of Hoysaḷa officers and civilian subjects began to increase in the Tamil country, and gifts began to be made by them at the famous shrines from Alagarkōyil, hardly 10 miles from the Pāṇḍya capital at Madura, to Kāñci itself.

No one would suppose that the Sēvuṇa could ignore these proceedings. Kṛṣṇa, otherwise Kaṇhara or Kandhara, the grandson of Siṃhaṇa Sēvuṇa, chose his opportunity well, and while the last phase of the campaign in the south was developing led an invasion into the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ across the Tuṅgabhadrā. It is clear from the inscriptions that until then the Sēvuṇa had respected the Hoysaḷa frontier, which had been at the limit of the Sāntara-nāḍ in the west, and the angle made by the Tuṅgabhadrā river. To the north and west of the river all had been in Sēvuṇa hands. So the claim of Nārasimha, to rule the 'Seven and a half *lakh* country', that is, the 750,000 villages which corresponded to the old division known as Raṭṭavāḍi, roughly identifiable with Kuntala, was a mere formality. Kṛṣṇa's intention had been to make straight for Dōrasamuḍra, to loot the capital and bring down the Hoysaḷa at one blow. He was disappointed in this, for Pōlaḷva and other *daṇṇāyakas* intercepted him and counter-attacked so successfully that the Marāṭhā forces were put to flight, though they must have caused considerable losses on the other side. One record, enlarging on the Hoysaḷa success, pictures the severed heads of two Sēvuṇa generals praising their victorious enemy in disjointed phrases of Marāṭhī as they swung among the flag-poles of the state-elephant's golden howdah. It is interesting to note that the enemy employed some Muslim mercenaries on this occasion, their second appearance on our stage.

§7. 1223-1236. *The aberration begins to take its toll.*

Nārasimha was not able to follow up his victory over the Sēvuṇas by an attempt to retake any of the lost towns north and west of the Tuṅgabhadrā; the most that was achieved was con-

tinuance in the Pāṇḍya-nāḍ north of Uccaṅgi. On the other hand his control of his ancestral dominions seems to have begun to deteriorate perceptibly. Disturbances broke out in the centre of the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ in the east, where a certain Kut-tāḍun-dēvar, of Tāmilian origin, set himself up as Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Cōḷa-Iḷavaṅḷiya-rāyar with a small independent province centred upon Āvaṇi, about 12 miles east of Kolar. He and his descendants eventually ruled an area of about 400 square miles including Kuruḍumale, Bētamaṅgala and Maḍivāḷa. It is clear, despite the temporary eclipse of Iḷavaṅḷiyar between about 1229 and 1254, that the Hoysaḷa made no attempt to keep the Naṅgali route to Kāñci under his control, and this supports the view that Nārasimha preferred to enter and leave the Tāmili country by way of the Kāvēri valley, thus leaving the Kolar region in a kind of backwater.

His son was in 1228 'ruling the kingdom' at Kaṇṇanūr in the Cōḷa country, and it is important to realize the significance of the choice of that village for his capital city in the plains. So insignificant was the place when Sōmēśvara first saw it that it was for long referred to merely as the 'koppa'. It had nothing to recommend it from the point of view of traditional Karṇāṭaka strategy: there was no fort, no substantial hill for miles. It lay exposed to attack from every side, while the Kāvēri, which lay three miles to the south, afforded it no protection. But it was admirably situated for the control of the fief surrounding the river, part of the richest land in the Cōḷa country, which Nārasimha II had extorted from Rājarāja in addition to the land on the west of the Kāvēri. And it was an ideal site for the encampment of a large standing army, raised from the teeming population of the plains, officered by Karṇāṭaka *daṁṁāyakas* and stiffened by Karṇāṭaka and Tāmilian cavalry, mounted on Arab horses imported from the coast, and a few companies of Muslim mercenaries, intended as a bulwark against the Pāṇḍya and a means of preventing the revival of the Bāṇa and the Kāḍava. Kaṇṇanūr lay on the communications from Madura to Āttūr and Cidambaram, Vṛddhācalam, Tiruvannāmalai, Kāñci and Nellore; it was within the most direct and easy reach of the Hoysaḷa country by way of Mahādānapuram, Nāmakkaḷ and Tāramaṅgalam. Sōmēśvara, though little more than a lad, thus remained at Kaṇṇanūr in the enjoyment of easily-earned

revenues, at hand to preserve his Cōḷa brother-in-law from both internal and external foes.

A competent scholar has chosen the year 1228-9 as the first year of Manavāḷa-perumāḷ, the father of the second and more famous Kōpperuñjiṅga, who commenced his own reign in 1243-4. It was this Kāḍava king who, commencing from a territory which had been slowly enlarged towards the south of Cidambaram by his predecessors, attempted to cross the Kāvēri and absorb the districts between the river and the coast: to this movement Sōmēśvara replied by sending his forces down the river and causing them to erect fortifications. It seems that the Kāḍava's attack in that region was supported by further encroachments either from the Telugu Gaṇḍagōpāla or from the Kākatiya, or some similar commotion, for Nārasimha found it necessary to go once again to Kāñci in the spring of 1229, and when he was required at Dōrasamudra, instead of going himself, sent Sōmēśvara there. His son seems to have been obliged to remain there for a long period, as his father occupied himself in the Tamil country until early in 1231. In the summer of that year, if we may rely upon the *Gaḍyakaṇḍāṃṇṭa*, Nārasimha was preparing to celebrate Sōmēśvara's marriage, when he was obliged to march rapidly towards the Kāvēri by news from the Tamil country which he had apparently imagined to be peaceful. The Pāṇḍyas, the incorrigible Bāṇa and the Kāḍava had renewed their alliance, and the Cōḷa Rājarāja had fled for the second time, and had been overtaken by the Kāḍava and captured near Sēndamaṅgalam.<sup>6</sup> This place was 13 miles north of Vṛddhācalam. The story of the *Gaḍyakaṇḍāṃṇṭa* is supplemented by an inscription at Tiruvēndipuram, near the sea-coast, about 20 miles north of Cidambaram.

Nārasimha first 'uprooted the Magara kingdom', seizing the king, his women and treasure, and then halted at Pāccūr, just outside Kaṇṇanūr. There Nārasimha prepared to face an army from Madura, and sent two *daṇṇāyakas* north to rescue the Cōḷa. They secured this by the simple process of moving gradually northwards, stepping out of their way only once to deal with a large Kāḍava army, which may have had Bāṇa support, and destroying everything worth the effort on their route, until they reached Sēndamaṅgalam. They so harried the land surrounding it that Kōpperuñjiṅga offered to release the Cōḷa if they were

recalled. A truce was agreed to while Nārasimha's authority was sought, and he answered that no further terms needed to be exacted. Kōpperuñjiṅga released the Cōḷa; and the Hoysaḷa *daṇṇāyakas*, claiming the credit for this release, accompanied him some distance and 'allowed him to enter his kingdom'. It has been suggested that their ways parted at Tiruvēndipuram, where they must have been presented with valuable gifts, and the remarkable inscription commemorating their achievement was put up.\* They made gifts of part of the land they acquired to temples in the Tamil country, one of them to the god Allāḷa-nātha of Kāñci in the 15th year of Rājarāja, that is, 1231; curiously enough, when later they returned to their home in the north of the Hoysaḷa country they contented themselves with a most modest reference to their important services to the Cōḷa.

Nārasimha meanwhile was engaged in a lengthy battle with Bāṇa, Pāṇḍya and Kāḍava forces, together with their *mleccha* or *vaidēśika* allies, whom we hear of in the *Gadyakarmāmya* and who must have been either Ceylonese or Muslim troops: in this he was successful, though it is probably an exaggeration on the part of the author of that historical phantasy to suggest that the Pāṇḍyas became tributary vassals of the Hoysaḷa. There is, however, ample epigraphical reference to the campaign, which does not seem to have been over before the latter part of 1232. Nārasimha's 'bards' soon garlanded him with epithets. He was called 'the setter-up of the Cōḷa-rāya, day of judgement to Makaras (Bāṇa) and other kings, confiner within narrow limits of the Pāṇḍya empire', and also 'a hard axe to the mighty tree, the Magara ruler; a Garuḍa to the snake, the powerful might of Adiyama; thundering in the clouds to the infatuated flamingo, the Kāḍava king; an Indra to split the mountain, the pride of the champion Pāṇḍya....' A poet of unusual imagination wrote how 'when the uprooter of the Magara king, setter-up of the Cōḷa king, Nārasimha... came, the ocean, roaring with the noise produced by the movement of crocodiles, multitudinous fierce sharks, and fishes that had come to the surface, took voice and cried, "O Pāṇḍya princes, pay all that you have, become servants, and live!"' Nārasimha's victories were well on the way

\*As a purely historical inscription it is well worthy of study: see E.I. vii pp. 167-8 and cf. E.C. xii Gubbi 45 (A.D. 1233).

to becoming legendary. He did not leave the Tamil country soon, but spent time arranging affairs there to his satisfaction.

Sōmēśvara was now set up at Kaṇṇanūr as the sovereign of a definite fraction of the Cōḷa Empire, though naturally subordinate to his father, who was recognized as ruler at Śrīraṅgam in November 1233. From that year Sōmēśvara himself dated the years of his reign, for the purposes of the administration of the Kāvēri principality.

Meanwhile Hoysaḷa activity in the north-west of the Empire had almost entirely ceased; there is no evidence of further movement on the part of the Sēvūṇa, and the Tuṅgabhadra still seems to have served as the frontier. With those costly pre-occupations in the south there could hardly have been much energy left for equipping an expedition to recover Belvoḷa or Banavāse.

Vira-Nārasimha's last dated inscription is of December 1235: he must have died either in that month or in January 1236. His son journeyed to Dōrasamudra, probably to attend his father in his last illness. Very shortly after Nārasimha's death he was on his way back to his principality between the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries, and the glorious period of Hoysaḷa history was over.

## Chapter Five

### THE DECLINE

(The reigns of Sōmēśvara, Rāmanātha and Nārasimha III)

§1. 1236-1247. *The reorientation of Hoysaḷa affairs towards Kaṇṇanūr.*

The reign of Sōmēśvara seems to have been the most tragic of the reigns of the Hoysaḷa kings. Many of his predecessors and descendants suffered disappointments and failures, but none had such occasions for self-congratulation or such bitter humiliations. The source of Sōmēśvara's misfortunes was his preoccupation with the Tamil country; but this alone cannot account for the unique fluctuations in his affairs. The truth seems to be that the Emperor himself was personally not only attached to the country below the Ghats but also better qualified to deal with the conflicting interests of the rulers in that region than to attend to the more commonplace responsibilities which he had inherited upon the plateau. Whatever mistakes he may be thought to have made in his diplomacy in the plains, it is clear that he was involved in matters which he understood, and with which few could have been better acquainted; the task of keeping order in the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ itself was, on the other hand, really one for a man brought up in the hard rather than ingenious school of Kaṇṇaṭṭaka politics. The difficulties to which these facts led will be apparent to one who can visualize the immense care with which public order had been maintained during the reign of Ballāḷa II, and the source of anxiety which weakness in that respect had been to him as well as to Viṣṇuvardhana. Accordingly Sōmēśvara should, as we see from this safe distance, have been more than usually particular in his attention to the peculiar conditions prevalent on the plateau, for the qualified success in the Tamil country had itself worsened the position there.

It will be remembered that the original motive of Ballāḷa II in going to the aid of the Cōḷa had been to obtain directly and indirectly means by which he might recover Belvoḷa, Halasige and Banavāse from the Sēvuṇa. As time went on it became obvious



MAP 5. THE TAMIL COUNTRY

that substantial profits were to be obtained in the south, but that much attention was needed to earn them, and occasionally even sacrifices, as it were, to prime the pump. Therefore the time was likely to come when the Hoysaḷa would have to decide whether or not it would pay him to remain in control of the fief along the banks of the Kāvēri; a ruler who had a genuine interest in the welfare of the Hoysaḷa dominions on the plateau might have been able to choose the latter at the expense of the former, but Sōmēśvara, having been brought up in the south, was far more at home there, and considered a journey to Dōrasamudra something of a penance. In fact greater efforts to hold Kaṇṇanūr, even when it was plain that that venture was a failure, only rendered defeat more costly. Meanwhile influential interests on the plateau were being alienated, and the cost of southern expeditions, together with large and spasmodic influxes of wealth from the Tamil country, began to affect the economy of the Hoysaḷa Empire, to force up prices, and to lead to unrest among all classes.

Sōmēśvara doubtless thought himself very astute, keeping a balance of power between the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya families. Had, indeed, three parties only been concerned in this project, all might have been well. But the Cōḷa had the Kāḍava, the Telugu Tikka Gaṇḍagōpāla of Nellore, and beyond him the Kākatiya Gaṇapati, to offer him assistance: his other allies, as the occasion offered, objected to the Hoysaḷa's presence and had their own several reasons for deprecating the dismemberment of the Cōḷa Empire in favour of any but themselves. And the Cōḷa court itself was not of one mind. Rājēndra III, who commenced to rule in his own right in 1246, and was probably Rājarāja's son, did not consider himself under the obligations which bound Rājarāja III to his brother-in-law. He had ambitions and energy exceeding those of the latter, and it was not long before he began to resent the presence of the Hoysaḷa in the Cōḷa country.

In 1236, however, Sōmēśvara was well established there, and is seen setting up images in the names of his foster-mother Sōmalā, his father, grandfather and grandmother.

Before the month of May 1236 the Pāṇḍyas appear to have invaded the Cōḷa country and been defeated by a Hoysaḷa force. The circumstances seem to have been these: an inscription at Tirunelveli relates that the Cōḷa king, who must have been



Rājendra, resolved not to remain submissive (to the Pāṇḍya) and thought that the Punal-nāḍ, i.e. the Kāvēri valley, belonged to its ruler, that is, the Cōla, rather than the Hoysaḷa, and sent out a large army, apparently in order to establish Cōla independence of the Pāṇḍya. This army the Pāṇḍya claims to have defeated, after which Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya entered Muḍigoṇḍa-cōlapuram and performed the ceremony of 'anointing of heroes'. Rājendra, it seems, had been given to understand that he was deprived of his direct control of the Kāvēri valley simply because of the threat offered by the Pāṇḍya, and thought that if his anxiety on that score were removed he would be able to force Sōmēśvara to leave that rich territory for good. The Hoysaḷa seems to have acted without undue haste. He did not prevent the Pāṇḍya from entering the historic town of Muḍigoṇḍa-cōlapuram, which was on the south bank of the Kāvēri, below the limits of the Kaṇṇanūr principality, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Sōmēśvara waited for the forces of Rājendra to be defeated, an event not to his own disadvantage evidently, and for the Pāṇḍya to be occupied in that town, before taking action on his own account. He crossed the Kāvēri, moved southwards so as to avoid the Pāṇḍya's main forces, and at once invaded the Pāṇḍya country, which commenced at a point not far south of the towns Ālattūr and Tirugōkarṇam. A reliable record describes him as residing in the Pāṇḍya country which he had acquired by his strength and valour. Two of his ministers, Bōgaṇṇa and Mallanṇa, had made for Rāmēśvaram, an attractive resort for invaders of the Pāṇḍya dominions. A good deal of fighting took place.

In this strait the Pāṇḍyas called upon the Kāḍava, their old ally. In December 1236 Sōmēśvara was himself at the *koppa* of Maṅgala 'on a victorious expedition against the Kāḍava-rāya'. No doubt great vigilance was necessary, as the Kāḍava Kōpperuñjīṅga had killed two of Sōmēśvara's Brahman *daṇṇāyakas* at Perumbalūr, about 20 miles north of Kaṇṇanūr, and had seized their women and treasure—a sin for which he made expiation not long afterwards. But in the event the Hoysaḷa acquired the title 'champion who pursued the Kāḍava king', and had the effrontery to claim credit for an unselfish two-fold campaign in the service of the helpless Rājendra. A Kannaḍa record of that very year says:

'This hero Sōvi-dēva, practised in destroying and supporting (like the gods Hara and Hari) amongst kings, plucked them up by the root in war without hesitation, and protected Rājendra Cōla as a suppliant.'

With the treasures acquired in this war against the Pāṇḍyas and the Kāḍava Sōmēśvara announced his victories far and wide, sending an embassy northwards across the plateau to make gifts of gold in his name to the gods Virūpākṣa of Hampe, later Vijayanagara, and Viṭṭhala of Pandharpur, an embassy which must have impressed the Sēvuṇa, for whose information it was doubtless intended.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile Vallaya-danṇāyaka made a grant at Tirumaḷavādi; certain officers of the household of Sōmalā-dēvi at Tirugōkarṇam; Pōlālva-danṇāyaka at Kāñci; Sōmalā-dēvi herself (not Sōmēśvara's foster-mother, it seems, but rather one of his queens) at Śrīraṅgam. A grant at Kāñci, of which the record was left unfinished, but mentions the Yādava Sōmēśvara and his queen Dēvikā, is probably of this year. Sōmēśvara's position in Kaṇṇanūr seemed assured, and Hoysala officers penetrated at will into all parts of the Tamil country. For all this, an inscription of about 1237 makes but modest claims: his boundaries are given as Śrīraṅgam in the south, Sāvimala in the north and Naṅgali in the east. It is interesting to see that no possessions were claimed in the southern Cōla districts which intervened between the Kaṇṇanūr principality and the Pāṇḍya country, or in that country itself, or again in the Kāñci region, while in the north the boundary chosen for this purpose was that established in the early years of Viṣṇuvardhana.

There are signs that despite his newly-won renown his reputation on the plateau was not able to restrain internecine warfare between Kannaḍa and former Tamilian officials, both in Hoysala employ. Certain of the eastern *nāḍ-ālṅkas*, like Ilavañjiya-rāyar, were ever ready to pick a quarrel with Sōmēśvara's more loyal servants, and it seems that the Emperor himself was on campaign in the autumn of 1237 against them: he was at the unidentified place Dōcale in October of that year. By the end of the next year he was 'happily ruling at Vijaya-rājendra-pura in the Cōla kingdom, a city which he had created'. It is open to question where this city was: it may have been Kaṇṇanūr, which was renamed Vikramapura, and which in any case deserved a better-sounding name than the common Kaṇṇanūr, but this will not account for the fact that the Hoysala should so flatter

the Cōla as to name the place after him in this fashion. Nevertheless, the Hoysala was clearly on good terms with Rājarāja and Rājendra, for on the one hand many grants were made by Hoysala officers in the Kaṇṇanūr principality, grants dated in the Cōla's reign-era, and not in the era of their master's reign, and on the other hand the Hoysala army in the south was attacked by Gaṇḍagōpāla in 1239, in the region about 70 miles north of Kaṇṇanūr. Upon this engagement Sōmēśvara embarked without hesitation, and a protracted campaign followed which could not have taken place had the Cōla either denied assistance, or attacked the small Hoysala principality while its ruler was marching northwards.

Gaṇḍagōpāla was marching southwards in order to explore the defences of the Kāḍava, and in the course of this set upon a Hoysala contingent in the neighbourhood, apparently, of Jambai. Sōmēśvara was actually marching against him in August 1240 while, in camp with the army in or at Māpe, he 'obtained the birth of a son', who must have been Nārasimha, later Nārasimha III. The result of this campaign was not wholly satisfactory, if we may judge from the statements of Tikkana Sōmayāji, the contemporary Telugu poet, who was in a good position to know the facts, even if he did not choose to tell all of them. Tikkana shows, in the opening verses of his *Nirvacanōttara-Rāmāyaṇamu*, that Tikka imagined himself as the 'setter-up of the Cōla' and gained that title by, in particular, spoiling the 'arrogance of the untameable arm of the Kaṇṇāṭaka Sōmēśvara'. The defeat of the Kāḍava by this same Gaṇḍagōpāla, though apparently advantageous to the Hoysala, in fact added to Sōmēśvara's discomfiture, for it was chiefly the presence of the ambitious Kōpperuṇṅiṅga, ever striving towards Tiruvannāmalai and beyond Cidambaram, that had kept Rājarāja and Rājendra in mind of their dependence on Hoysala support. Now that Tikka Gaṇḍagōpāla had weakened the Kāḍava from the opposite direction, Sōmēśvara's excuse for remaining in the South was also weakened. Tikka, however, achieved little by his demonstration of power, and his son was obliged to make a similar attempt a few years later.

While Sōmēśvara's affairs continued in this course in the South, the Hoysala cause in the North had not been advancing. If disgrace was absent, glory likewise was denied to the northern

army. In 1239 Bīrarasa Sāntara of Hosagunda attacked a Sēvuṇa officer, and thus opened on a large scale a war which had been on the point of breaking out for several years. The Sāntara of Hosagunda was an ally of the Hoysaḷa, though we do not know how far Sōmēśvara had supported him; his main interest was the prevention of Sēvuṇa encroachment into or beyond his territory, and between 1239 and 1248 the Kadamba at Gutti, the Raṭṭas and the Sāntaras on their own behalf as well as that of the Hoysaḷa fought vigorously against the Sēvuṇa officers. The confusion paralleled that of the reign of Nārasiṃha I, and the reaction of Sōmēśvara to the opportunities which it brought was closely comparable with that of his great-grandfather. From a record of 1238 we gather that a Sēvuṇa general was able to claim the capture of the Pāṇḍya-nāḍ, that is, the country depending on Uccaṅgi, and in fact the last Hoysaḷa record in that region is at Bālgūḷi, dated 1232, while the first Sēvuṇa record is at the same place, dated 1250. It seems therefore that the Emperor must have had ample opportunity to strengthen the country against an invasion, but that in any case he failed to keep a part of Ballāḷa's empire which had not been lost even in the time of Nārasiṃha II. The Sēvuṇa officers were proud of their achievements at Sōmēśvara's expense.

September 1241 saw an unprecedented occurrence in a Hoysaḷa realm: Siṅgaṇa-*daṇṇāyaka*, the nephew of the powerful minister Kambaya-*daṇṇāyaka*, and perhaps the son of Sōmaya-*daṇṇāyaka*, became so confident that he turned from being an influential servant of Sōmēśvara to a parasite, feeding not only upon the Emperor's enemies but upon his former fellow-servants. He attacked Vēdāraṇyam, at the extreme eastern edge of the Cōḷa's southern dominions, and followed this by plundering Kabbuhu- or Kabahu-nāḍ, one of the southern *nāḍs* of the Hoysaḷa country proper. The disturbances affected the Emperor's movements, for during 1242 he honoured the capital with one of his very rare visits. And whereas he was again in the Cōḷa country in September of that year he was in camp at Pācale, of unknown situation, in December.

After returning to Kaṇṇanūr some time before June 1243 he seems to have enjoyed a year's peace, but not unbroken, as a village south of Talakāḍ was attacked, a part, perhaps, of one of Siṅgaṇa-*daṇṇāyaka's* schemes, while during 1244 Dōrasamudra

itself was embarrassed by hostilities between senior Hoysaḷa officials, a struggle which continued into May of the following year, and was accompanied by fighting in other parts of the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ. Sōmēśvara now remained at Kaṇṇanūr, and was there in October 1246, absorbed in the Cōḷa's business and apparently extracting further grants of land from him. These commitments, the disturbances in the west, the losses in the north, and the civil war in the east all must have impressed the Hoysaḷa with the magnitude of his undertakings, for he allowed or encouraged a certain Sōmaya-daṇṇāyaka to assume great power in his household, and in fact much strategically important territory found its way into the latter's hands. Sōmaya, Siṅgaṇa and Kambaya were clearly ministers after the fashion of the Cōḷa court, their notions of loyalty contaminated by contact with Tamilian politics, then highly individualistic. A certain Bhōgaya, who had fought Sōvi-dēva in the heart of the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ in 1244, as narrated above, oppressed districts not ten miles south of the capital, some of the damage being repaired a few years later. The reign of Sōmēśvara was a period in which ministers took on new functions, and were faced with new temptations.

§2. 1247-1252. *Sōmēśvara's intractable ally; the interchange of alliances and the flight to Dōrasamudra.*

Rājēndra chose his time well, and, repeating his experiment of 12 years before, sent an army southward against the Pāṇḍya princes, without seeking Sōmēśvara's prior consent. The latter at once abandoned his traditional alliance with the Cōḷa and sent his men to intercept the Cōḷa's troops. He was completely successful, and the mortified Rājēndra had the misfortune to suffer an attack from the north in addition to frustration in the south. It appears from the ease with which Sōmēśvara penetrated into the Pāṇḍya country that some sort of understanding already existed between him and the Pāṇḍyas even before Rājēndra's rash act. He complacently called himself 'a skilled right arm to protect the Pāṇḍya family'; but this strange *renversement* must have had its commencement some while before then. In fact there is evidence that he had entered into a matrimonial alliance with Māḡavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II. This evidence consists

in Sōmēśvara's being described as the *māmaḍi* of that king in two records, the first of which relates that Sōmēśvara had requested the Pāṇḍya to remit taxes on the village Tirukkōttiyūr in Kēraḷa-siṅga-vaḷa-nāḍ for the offerings and other expenses of the service called Pōsaḷa-Vīra-Sōmi-dēvaṇ-sandi instituted in that temple in the Hoysaḷa's name. The second, dated in the same year, sanctioned the creation of an *agrahāra* in and near Kūḍalūr near Tirunelveli, to be called the Pōsaḷa-Vīra-Sōmi-dēva-caturvēdi-maṅgalam. It is clear from both these that the Hoysaḷa was interested in committing his relative to some responsibility for his own spiritual welfare, by his endowing or causing to be endowed services and an *agrahāra* well within the Pāṇḍya frontiers. The word *māmaḍi* must be translated 'father-in-law'.\* During the period 1240-47 Sōmēśvara must have given a daughter to Māra-varman Sundara Pāṇḍya. Further evidence of Hoysaḷa-Pāṇḍya cooperation is to be seen in the fact that one of the Hoysaḷa's *daṇṇāyakas* administered for a while a part of the Pāṇḍya territory, corresponding to the modern Tirumayyam *tāluka*, claiming to have 'taken' it, clearly on trust for the Pāṇḍya, in order to protect it from Rājendra.

We should visualize Rājendra Cōḷa from the year 1247-48 in a disposition of frustrated jealousy towards the Hoysaḷa. Sōmēśvara had not made war on him, or shown open hostility towards him, but had merely changed his title from 'scatterer of the Pāṇḍya king' to 'saviour of the Pāṇḍya kingdom'. He had not further diminished the Cōḷa territories, but had merely sent an army into the Pāṇḍya country to protect it and had helped to restore it to order, incidentally removing invaders who had happened to be Rājendra's soldiers. Such must have been the official account. Sōmēśvara's officers were tactful in their references to the campaign, and the Cōḷa had no overt act to complain of. Accordingly he had to wait some while before he could organize assistance from elsewhere and take vengeance on his troublesome 'ally'. Meanwhile, Sōmēśvara was at Kaṇṇanūr in a delicate state of health, and was making or causing to be made large donations to the chief temples in the Kāvēri valley for its improvement, and, doubtless, for the continuance

\*Since the same person usually bore both relationships, *māmaḍi* could mean maternal uncle or father's sister's husband as well as father-in-law; but Nārasimha can hardly have given a daughter in marriage to Sundara's father.

of his rule in that quarter. Rājendra was occupied with his northern feudatories, who had allowed the Kākatīya Gaṇapati to take Kāñci, the consummation of the second southern drive of that energetic ruler. This disaster gave Sōmēśvara a certain respite, but in 1252 Cōla resentment broke upon him at last, and the outward show of friendship and solidarity was abandoned. Rājendra's choice of opportunity was apt, for the *daṇṇāyaka* Siṅgaṇa had recently added the conquest of Pṛthvī-Gaṅga, a Tamilian potentate of ancient lineage, to his numerous successes, and had assumed a part equivalent to that of a *tertius gaudens*.

By June 1252 the Hoysala was in Dōrasamudra, and the Cōla was calling himself 'rod of death to the enemy Kannaḍa king' and 'bearer of hero's ornament, placed on his leg by the hands of Vīra-Sōmēśvara'. Rājendra aimed at a strong revival of Cōla power, and claimed to have defeated Pāṇḍya and Kērala, the latter doubtless an ally of the former on this occasion, and to have supported the line of Manu. In 1253 he bears the emphatic title, 'rod of death to the enemy, his uncle Sōmēśvara', and the existence at Śrīraṅgam of the inscriptions from which these titles are taken proves that the immediate neighbourhood of Kaṇṇanūr had been taken out of Hoysala hands. Meanwhile the Emperor could not give his mind to defence against the Cōla because of trouble in the south and possibly also the north of the Hoysala-nāḍ; Siṅgaṇa-daṇṇāyaka may have been responsible for stirring up this disorder, which kept Sōmēśvara occupied on two separate campaigns.

§3. 1252-1254. *Sōmēśvara's reinstatement at Kaṇṇanūr and the partition of the Empire.*

It may have been while he was at Dōrasamudra that the unhappy exile from his favourite Kaṇṇanūr was entertained by the compilation of Mallikārjuna, the father of the famous grammarian Kēśi-rāja, entitled *Sūktisudhārṇava*. This interesting florilegium, whose place in the history of Kannaḍa literature cannot be discussed here, has one remarkable feature which is relevant to our study of the Hoysalas' conception of kingship. Each chapter makes a reference to the king, and most contain several references of a more or less direct nature to Sōmēśvara, his father Nārasimha,

or his grandfather Ballāḷa II. The whole composition is dressed out as an elaborate benediction; though purporting to be a mere collection of 'purple passages' from the great Kannaḍa classics, it was edited and threaded by the compiler into a single frame, the object of which was to exclude from the mind of the auditor any idea of sadness or failure, and to depict the outstanding events in a typical king's life and its more remarkable pleasures in a uniform setting of prosperity and success. The result served a number of purposes: it of course demonstrated the acquaintance of its writer with the literary achievements of Karṇāṭaka, and unquestionably won him considerable renown; it presented to the Hoysaḷa king, in the most palatable of all garbs, the cream of the fine writing of ancient and even recent authors native to the country which either was or had within the past half-century been under Hoysaḷa protection; it taught Sōmēśvara something of the culture of Karṇāṭaka, a subject with which he was probably not intimately familiar; and it demonstrated to the entire Court that the spirit of the country was still alive on the lips of its poets and *savants*. Sōmēśvara, we read, was pleased with the composition, and accepted what was equivalent to a dedication. Although its prevalent tone of rejoicing and congratulation was incongruous with both the contemporary condition of the Hoysaḷa Empire and with its reasonable expectations for the future, in fact to all appearances a very gross example of literary irony, we cannot assume that it played no part in stimulating the energies of the ruler, for by March 1253 Sōmēśvara was back in Kaṇṇanūr, 'the great capital called Vikramapura, which he had conquered by the might of his arm'. It appears that Rājendra had received disturbing news from the directions both of Kāñci and Madura, and realized the need for the Hoysaḷa's presence. A compromise was soon patched up, and the Cōḷa had no further objectionable references to *māmaḍi* engraved on temple walls.

Sōmēśvara had but a short time in which to enjoy his success. He seems, in the first place, to have acquired a sudden enthusiasm for Jainism. He is said to have set up an order 'in the four frontier provinces to honour the triple parasol of Vijaya-Tīrthhādhi-nātha to show that the latter was lord of the Earth'. His son Nārasimha made an offering to Vijaya-Pārśva in December 1254, having already made a grant to the god Cenna-Kēśava of



Belūr in the previous March. The same prince made another gift to a *basadi*\* on the occasion of his investiture with the sacred thread, towards the end of February 1255. This curious fact, accompanied by the elevation of the Emperor's two sons to regal status in 1254, suggests with some force that Sōmēśvara had again been afflicted by a severe malady. Nārasimha, his son by Bijjalāmahādēvi, was hardly fifteen when he assumed the kingship of the Hoysala-nāḍ, and Rāmanātha, his son by the Cālukya princess Dēvalā or Dēvikā, can hardly have been much, if at all, older. Nārasimha is known to have reigned at Dōrasamudra in April 1255, while Rāmanātha's first year must have been 1254, as his second year, in which his earliest records are dated, commenced in 1255. In that year Rāmanātha was recognized at Śrīraṅgam with titles like those of his father, 'mighty Emperor of the entire Earth'. Clearly Sōmēśvara had recognized that his method of ruling the Hoysala Empire had been a failure, and designed that for the future a sovereign apiece should attend to the respective affairs of the lands above and below the Ghats. In contemplation of an approaching death or complete incapacity he partitioned his now sadly diminished Empire between his sons according to the *dharma-sāstra*, each legitimate son taking a half share in the ancestral property, namely the *rājya*. And so it was that when the next emergency occurred the government of the Hoysala State was in the hands of a retired invalid and two adolescents.

The ubiquitous Siṅgaṇa-danṇāyaka, whose relations with Sōmēśvara and Rājendra were very ambiguous, seems to have been active and prosperous. During 1251-2 he had been making gifts to temples; in the third year of Rāmanātha he established a *śālāi*, or dispensary, at Śrīraṅgam, and in the 23rd year of Sōmēśvara took part in the granting of land to the god at Tīrumaḷavāḍi, nearly twenty miles east of Kaṇṇanūr. He was not permitted more than a year in which to enjoy the temporal fruits of his benefactions.

\* A Jaina temple.

§4. 1254-1257. *The dig-vijaya of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya.*

Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I had recently come to the direction of Pāṇḍya affairs, and with his accession a new spirit entered Pāṇḍya policies. The obvious weaknesses of the Cōḷa-Hoysaḷa alliance invited attention, while an exact computation might be made of the degree of competition between the Hoysaḷa and the Kāḍava, the Kāḍava and the Cōḷa, all of these and Tikkana's son Gaṇḍagōpāla of Nellore, and the latter and the Kākatiya Gaṇapati. In midsummer 1255 the Pāṇḍyas sent northwards an exploratory expedition, which Sōmēśvara repulsed with heavy losses. The Bāṇa then came to the aid of the Pāṇḍyas, but not for long, as the Hoysaḷa made him submit in September 1256. In the meanwhile Sōmēśvara's illness had so far increased in severity that he was not expected to live: a hereditary henchman, whose traditional duty it was to precede or accompany his master into the next world, was informed of this and committed suicide together with his wives and servants. His self-sacrifice was ill-timed, for the Emperor recovered.

At this point Jaṭavarman Sundara invaded the Cōḷa country in force. Sōmēśvara and Rāmanātha fled before him. The government of Rājendra III collapsed. The Kāḍava, the Telugu Cōḷa of Nellore, the Kākatiya and even the Sēvuṇa fell one after another victims to his onslaught. The whole of the Tamil country and a portion of the Telugu districts were subjected to Pāṇḍya rule, and the recital of the Pāṇḍya's conquests which commenced with the Kēraḷa and Ceylon went on in an unprecedented series. Together with Vikrama Pāṇḍya he loaded the more famous temples in the country with a proportion of the immense hoards of wealth which he acquired, and set up from Śrīraṅgam in the South to Nellore in the North no less than twenty inscriptions in Sanskrit and Tamil of varying qualities, which bear eloquent and diffuse witness to his astonishing success.\* The *Kōyiloḷugu* of Śrīraṅgam tells us that Sundara had himself weighed against gold while actually seated in full array upon an elephant.

\*The history student is likely to find the following examples particularly worthy of study: E.I. iii, 2; S.I.I. iv, 507, 625, 626, 627, 630, 865; S.I.I. vii, 429; Śān Tamil, iv, pp. 514-16, 491, 513; cf. S.I.I. viii, 356.

It is evident from the records that the Bāṇa suffered from these operations, while Siṅgaṇa-*daṇṇāyaka* lost his life. A certain Kṣēma, a Sēvuṇa officer commissioned to fish in the troubled waters of the Tamil country, probably attached to the staff of Gaṇapati, who is well known to have benefited from the support of the Sēvuṇa in other contexts, had apparently been troublesome to the Hoysaḷa, and he too was put to death by the Pāṇḍya, who ironically claims to have done King Rāma, that is, Rāmanātha, a service thereby. He took the Kāvēri principality under his special protection, capturing Kaṇṇanūr in the course of the campaign. It seems that Sōmēśvara and Rāmanātha had made for Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (the 'city belonging to the Lord of the Great Mountain') and there took refuge.

§5. 1257-1274. *Rāmanātha as a tenant of the Pāṇḍyas.*

It was obvious that the Pāṇḍya could not hope to govern this vast stretch of land solely by means of his own administrative machinery. The Hoysaḷa territories in the South were a minor part of the whole, but the Hoysaḷa himself was in a position to balance other disaffected elements in the Cōḷa country, and thus Sundara Pāṇḍya was not disinclined to allow the Hoysaḷa exiles to return to Kaṇṇanūr as his viceroys. His decision was encouraged by the fact that the Bāṇa, who was perhaps the only non-Pāṇḍya ruler not ruined by the catastrophe of 1257 (probably because he had changed sides at the right moment), had invaded the Pāṇḍya country during the absence of its main armies. This unexpected attack made it apparent that the Bāṇa, who had been troublesome to the Cōḷa since 1216, could still command respect from an overlord, and the Hoysaḷa was in every way fitted to repress him. The curiously brief rise and equally sudden decline of the Bāṇa can be studied in the inscriptions at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, which he took in this period, at Nārattāmpundi, about 10 miles north of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, and, in the opposite quarter, at Kuḍumiyāmalai on the Vellār river. The Bāṇa king made several claims, to which, otherwise than as literary compositions, we should pay little attention, but the statement that he defeated the king of Madura, just as Indra cut off the wings of the mountains, has more significance historically than it has merely as a

pretty simile.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand deep obscurity covers his career before and after his brief emergence.

It is open to question when Sōmēśvara and Rāmanātha returned to Kaṇṇanūr. Upon that hangs the date of the return of Rājēndra likewise, for they probably took up their posts, mere tenants-at-will of the Pāṇḍya, at about the same time. The records are not consistent and while one makes it appear that Sōmēśvara was ruling at Jambukēśvaram, close to Śrīraṅgam, in 1258, another is dated more probably in 1259. This latter seems a more attractive record as it refers to Sōmēśvara's grandson, Viśvanātha, later the successor of Rāmanātha in the Eastern Kingdom. A record purporting to be dated in Sōmēśvara's 27th year is suspect on more than one ground, and one is unable to conclude satisfactorily when Sōmēśvara died. However, for practical purposes Sōmēśvara's reign ended in 1257 with the invasion of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, and it is a matter of little consequence for how long he was able to linger on in Kaṇṇanūr. It will be remembered that his rule had been little more than nominal since the partition of 1254; his son Rāmanātha assumed active control of what was left of Hoysaḷa policy in the South, and the progress of Hoysaḷa affairs there can be attributed to his guidance. His activity was at first confined to the Tamil country, and to that part of it which lies in or closely adjoining the Kāvēri valley.

Rāmanātha's inscriptions begin to appear, in this phase, from his 6th year (1260) onwards. Until 1262 they are confined to a small area near Kaṇṇanūr, with one exception at Adhaman-kōṭṭai on the route between Kaṇṇanūr and the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ. Rāmanātha's rule was at first circumscribed by Pāṇḍya supervision, and by having to share this condition with Rājēndra Cōḷa, who ruled, according to Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, until 1279. Though their reigns went on for some years in a kind of dual hegemony of the Cōḷa country, we cannot therefore assume that they were on the best of terms, but the decade from 1264 is completely devoid of events of political importance. In that year the conqueror Sundara himself seems to have been on a state visit to Kaṇṇanūr. There is reason for believing that he died about 1270, and that aggressive Pāṇḍya activity declined sharply after that date.

It is clear from a list of the inscriptions of Rāmanātha between

1264 and 1274 that his territory extended from near Kāmarasa-vallī in the east to Adhamankōṭṭai in the north, being a tract of varying width on both sides of the Kāvēri. In the east the width hardly exceeded ten miles; in the centre it included areas rather more than twenty miles from the river. Tirumananjēri and Ūttattūr were in Hoysaḷa hands, but Perambalūr was probably not, so that the possession of Āraḡalūr may have been due to a grant of lands to Rāmanātha by the Bāṇa, to whose relations with the Hoysaḷa we shall return presently.\* Tāramaṅgalam and Paruttipalli, being on the Hoysaḷa's route to the plateau, must have been under his control, but it is uncertain whether he retained the lands on the west bank of the river which had been given to Nārasimha II by Rājarāja III and which were to be again in Hoysaḷa hands during the reign of Ballāja III.† From these indications it is clear that Rāmanātha held what was a commercially and fiscally profitable, but politically insecure, territory. It was nothing but a gigantic buffer between the Pāṇḍyas on the south and their untrustworthy dependants on the north. Apart from its most western part, it had no natural, linguistic or racial frontiers. It had all the marks of an ephemeral state. No doubt Rāmanātha had opportunities to observe this, for he undertook the only course which seemed likely to remove the defects. He endeavoured to acquire a part of the kingdom of his half-brother Nārasimha.

§6. 1274-1285. *The civil war: first phase. The plight of Nārasimha III.*

By 1274 King Nārasimha III (we cannot follow his own example and call him 'emperor') was involved in a task of great difficulty, and to explain this it will be necessary to turn to the period following the partition when, as a boy of 15, he assumed control of a country filled with unrest and discontent. No one can read his story without feeling some admiration for his courage and endurance. A comparison of records shows that the value of money had fallen since the Kaṇṇanūr principality had

\*See below, p. 140.

†See below, p. 164.

been established, and there had been a very remarkable lowering in the rate of interest which a depositor could obtain.<sup>3</sup> This had reacted badly among all the influential communities, and a poor standard of public order added to the confusion.<sup>4</sup> This fall in the standard of prosperity seems never to have been compensated for during the remainder of the duration of Hoysaḷa rule, despite the amputation of the Kaṇṇanūr principality, which had been the prime cause of the distress. Indeed one might have expected that, given that Nārasimha never provided a subsidy for his half-brother (which would be a startling proposition), a return to the pre-1217 policies would have checked the downward trend; but whatever chance there was of such a restoration of public well-being was frustrated by the civil war which lasted from 1274 to 1297.

Many of Nārasimha's subjects rallied around him out of delight that a royal prince had once again come to live in the palace at Dōrasamudra, and an accession of strength resulted from this apparently widespread feeling. A record of 1265 goes even to the extraordinary length of omitting Sōmēśvara from the Hoysaḷa genealogy. From 1259 to 1262 the king marched against one enemy after another, putting down rebellion and punishing the invader. After a further two years he was able to re-enter the field of north-western politics which his father had abandoned many years before. Sōmēśvara could, of course, plead preoccupation in mitigation of his neglect, and this saves him from being classified absolutely with Nārasimha I; but Nārasimha III's acceptance of the challenge in the north is not dissimilar to the revolt experienced by the personality of Ballāḷa II against the supine attitude exhibited by his father.

By this time the Uddhare Gaṅga family had disappeared from view; Kumāra Bommadēvarasa, son of Bīrarasa, ruled in Hosagunda as a dependant of the Sēvuṇa, a humiliation doubtless due to family intrigues. There were still powers in Banavāse and thereabouts which were hostile to the Emperor at Dēvagiri, and Sēvuṇa officers found their hands well occupied with such as Kala or Kalla-*veggade* of Uruvatti. Nārasimha III determined to exploit even this unpromising situation, and sent Siṅgayya-*danṇāyaka* to raid the Śāntara territory. While Bommadēvarasa

\*See below, p. 180.

was occupied at the opposite edge of his kingdom, against Maḷali, this officer launched from his base at Kūdaḷi an attack on Kaḍavūr, which was a Sāntara possession.

No sooner had Nārasimha committed himself to a war in the north-west than the rulers of the modern Bangalore and Kolar districts revolted and one of their number, the ruler of Kakkaḷa-or Karkaṭa-nāḍ, who had the impudence to prefix the name 'Cōḷa' to his title, was not subdued before the Hoysaḷa sent a large expedition against him. The cause of this unrest in the East cannot be confined to the Hoysaḷa's preoccupation with the North, for it is clear that both Rāmanātha and Nārasimha had begun to claim the revenue from the old Cōḷa possessions on the plateau. The rulers there still felt a greater affinity with the more than half-Tamilian Court at Kaṇṇanūr, but would probably have resisted enforcement of the government taxes by either of the brothers, seeing that a dispute was bound to break out between them. A lawyer might have foreseen that when a partition of a *rājya* takes place, an event deprecated by the jurists on constitutional grounds, it is always a possibility that the *equality* of partition between sons who have a right in it by birth may be called in question. The partition may be equal as regards extent of land, or as regards the revenue-roll. Sōmēśvara clearly partitioned his empire upon a sound basis in that geographical convenience coincided with value: the Kaṇṇanūr 'half' being smaller in size but at least equally valuable when compared with the kingdom on the plateau given to Nārasimha. This arrangement, which left all the ancestral property above the Ghats in Nārasimha's hands, must have become progressively less satisfactory to Rāmanātha as his hold over the Kaṇṇanūr kingdom became less secure. He may well have been advised that he was entitled to at least a half of that ancestral kingdom which remained from the time of Ballāḷa II. The eastern *nāḍ-āḷvas* were more than inclined to accept this point of view: if their ruler lived far away down the Kāvēri valley in possession of the rich rice-lands abutting on that river, he would not interfere too zealously in the activities of the potentates in the comparatively barren eastern half of the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ. At any rate this was the atmosphere in which feudatories thrived. Nārasimha, for his part, firmly rejected these incipient claims.

The position in the East had hardly reached equilibrium when, in 1269, certain villages in the modern Tumkūr district were attacked by the ruler of Heñjēru, descendant of that Cōḷa chief who achieved independence in the time of Nārasimha II.

This temporary success, a natural result of the increased activity of that family, together with the Hoysaḷa pressure in the Sāntara country, brought to the notice of the Sēvuṇa emperor Mahādēva that an opportunity existed in that quarter of which he might profitably take advantage. He apparently came southwards in or before March 1271, but, having brought an insufficient or undisciplined force, was obliged to retire, so that the Hoysaḷa boasted that he 'fled in one night'. Fighting with the Sāntara continued into 1273, but the accession of Rāmacandra (known to the Muslims of Delhi as Rām-Dēv) to the Sēvuṇa throne about two years before had brought a more vigorous spirit to the counsels of Dēvagiri and this soon manifested itself in a series of attacks launched against the Hoysaḷa. Their object was not only to put an end to the latter's intrigues in the north-west, but also to conquer the Hoysaḷa country itself, a project which would not have been dreamt of fifty years earlier.

It was this critical moment which Rāmanātha chose for his own invasion of the plateau. The exact circumstances which provoked this move are unknown, as also the side upon which lies the burden of responsibility for the civil war and its disastrous results. But it would appear that Nārasimha's interests were at no time consistent with aggression of this kind. By December 1274 the war had begun with an attack by Tribhuvana-malla Pūrvādi-rāyar, later one of Rāmanātha's outstanding partisans, upon agents of Nārasimha. Progress was speedy, for by January 1275 a record at Saṇṇēnahalli, about 30 miles east-south-east of Dōrasamudra and 130 miles west of the towns of Rāmanātha's chief supporters, related that the glorious Emperor Hoysaḷa Vira-Rāmanātha was in the residence of Kaṇṇanūr, ruling the 'Kingdom of the Earth', and inhabitants of that village fell in a battle in which Rāmanātha's troops took part. Further signs of his success are to be found in inscriptions dated September 1275 and September 1276 as far north as Kōgaḷi, more than 25 miles north of Ucchaṅgi. Although it is said there that the Yādava-Nārāyaṇa Rāmanātha-dēva, who should not be confused with the Sēvuṇa Rāmacandra (who never uses



that name), was ruling a settled kingdom, it is not to be supposed that the whole of the Hoysala country between the Bangalore and Hadagalli *tālukas* was under his control. A more likely explanation of these records is that emissaries of his found at Kōgaḷi an oasis where the Sēvuṇa occupation was feared and the effective power of Nārasimha was lacking, and where officers who came originally to bring offerings to the shrines found it convenient to stay and collect the revenue. As for Rāmacandra Sēvuṇa, he was recognized in that year at Bhānuvaḷḷi, 6 miles south of Harihara, and his occupation in that region must have progressed steadily, for in 1279 he was recognized at Kallēdēvarapura and in the next year at Bennahaḷḷi, 11 miles south of Kōgaḷi itself. There is no evidence that Rāmanātha did anything to dispute his further progress. Meanwhile in 1276 at Cikka Baḷḷigere in the south of the modern Bangalore district officials and a religious body joined in creating an endowment for a temple and for services there for the 'victory of the sword and arm of the Emperor of the Whole World, Poyisala Vīra-Irāmanāda-dēvar', and for the continued increase of his prosperity, a set of phrases that was to become familiar throughout the eastern districts.

Troops were on the march against Dōrasamudra. Nārasimha intensified his activity against the Sāntara, and Bommadēvarasa found his adherence to the Sēvuṇa costly. A minister and general of Nārasimha fought in what must have been Hosagunda fort itself. The confused warfare seemed to have satisfied both sides equally. Nārasimha bears the title *Timmaṇa-rāya-māna-mardana*: who was the Timmaṇa whom he humbled we do not yet know. The Sēvuṇa rejoiced in the title 'putter to flight of the Hoysala king'. The critical moment came, however, in January of the next year. A major battle took place at Belavāḍi, only 4½ miles north of Dōrasamudra. By order of the Sēvuṇa a certain Tikkama, of that Sāḷuva family which later became famous in the Vijayanagara Empire, had led a huge expedition into the heart of the Hoysala country, and encamped within an hour's ride of the capital. He was accompanied, amongst others, by Iruṅgōḷa Cōḷa. A record relates that they brought 12,000 horses with them, and if that estimate is anywhere near the truth the army must have been formidable. Nārasimha, however, was able to muster a force which put the Sēvuṇa to flight and chased him as far as Dümme. This village, on the

frontier of the Pāṇḍya-nāḍ, marked the commencement of land in hostile hands. It is of interest to note that Khaṇḍeya-rāya-



MAP 6. THE TULUVA COUNTRY

*rāṇe*, a son of Mummaḍi Siṅgaya-nāyaka of Kummaṭa who was for many years a thorn in the flesh of the Sēvuṇa, had entered

the Hoysaṣa service as a soldier of fortune, and now fought on the latter's side.

The Hoysaṣa's success in repelling Tikkama had an immediate effect in the Sāntara country. The Sāntara rebelled and in September 1276 Rāmacandra was obliged to give orders for him to be attacked, a movement which apparently achieved nothing; for in June 1277 Bommadēvarasa of Hosagunda recognized no superior and was organizing an expedition of his own against Hāne, a place 14 miles to the south-west of Hosagunda which seems to have been in the hands of the rising royal family of Sētu. The Hoysaṣa's awareness of the need to support these sturdy recusants is demonstrated by the successful if brief mission of Ballāṣa to the territory between the Sāntaras and the west coast. Ballāṣa, called in the record at Śirāli 'a second Ballāṣa' in memory of the great Ballāṣa II, was Nārasimha's son by Paṭṭamahādēvi (if that was her personal name), who seems to have been a Cālukya princess, since her son is once called 'Cālukya-kulōd-bhava'. He was only 16 when he was sent on this important errand. His duty was clearly to attack the Sāntaras' enemies and perhaps to secure the passage from the coast against a threatened outflanking movement by the Sēvuṣa. Meanwhile, to the great mortification of the Hoysaṣa, Sāḷuva Tikkama commenced to build at Harihara, a town which had been in Hoysaṣa hands from the time of Ballāṣa II until a couple of years before Tikkama's attack, a temple of Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa with a portion of the large quantity of booty which he had been able to gather in the Hoysaṣa country. The golden *kalāṣa* of that temple was put on in 1280. Rāmacandra himself assumed the title 'a powerful arm in seizing the wealth of the Hoysaṣa-rāya's Empire'.

Rāmanātha did nothing to assist his brother in the war against the Sēvuṣa; on the contrary he did all in his power to impede reconstruction after the withdrawal of the enemy. He renewed his aggression with vigour. The rivals were fairly evenly matched and the struggle continued with hardly an interruption for 20 years. In November 1277 Kumāra Dorabhakkare-*daṇṇāyaka* 'ruled the kingdom' in the East on behalf of Nārasimha III at Halkūr in the south-east near Baḷḷigere, which must then have been near the boundary between his lands and those captured by Rāmanātha. In the course of the next year Cikka

Kēteya-*danṇāyaka* carried Nārasimha's arms as far east as Ban-nērghaṭṭa, about 30 miles south-west of Kolar. But despite brilliant efforts, Rāmanātha was able to make surprising gains, and, perhaps on suspicion of corruption, Kēteya was removed from his command. In June 1278 some higher officers of Pūrv-ādi-rāyar encamped behind Kēteya's lines and made gifts to the god Cūḍanātha at a place called Honnāvara, not so far identified; Kēteya hastily presented a village and certain taxes to the same god in order to counteract the meritorious liberality of the enemy, but to little purpose, for by October of that year Rāmanātha's rule had extended even into the modern Arsikere *tāluka*, and some authorities thought it prudent to recognize his reign at a distance of no more than 18 miles from Dōrasamudra itself. The coming and going of the two kings' armies made it rather difficult for the record-engrosser to draw up his formulae correctly, and one record at least shows considerable tact.\* No doubt Rāmanātha communicated with rulers on the northern fringe of the Hoysaḷa-nāḍi, and his brother was embarrassed by additional problems. At least three different invasions took place, including one from a certain Ballaha-dēva, who may have been the Immaḍi-Ballaha-dēvarasa whom we find about this time ruling the kingdom of Sētu, and another from Nārasimha-dēva of Hebbetta. It was greatly to Nārasimha III's advantage that on the north of his country, in the region of Kummaṭa and Kampili, Mummaḍi Siṅgaya-nāyaka was carrying on a continuous guerrilla with the Sēvuṇa, thus distracting the latter from the operations of the Hoysaḷa.

§7. 1285-1291. *The civil war: second phase. The Kundāṇi kingdom.*

By 1285 the situation had become distinctly easier. Nārasimha found that the eastern *nāyakas* were falling out among themselves, and tending to ignore Rāmanātha's authority. It is remarkable that he did not compromise with his half-brother or find it politic to negotiate with him. Nārasimha's forces meanwhile gained ground steadily in the East, and he was able

\* See below, p. 211.

to wipe out the disgrace he had suffered by reason of the Heñjēru Cōḷa's joining with Sāḷuva Tikkama. In 1285 he took the fort of Niḍugal itself, no mean achievement.

Rāmanātha's preoccupation with affairs in the Tamil country was itself a reason for Nārasimha's being free at that time to march northwards leaving a flank exposed to the eastern armies. For Rāmanātha was involved in a conflict with the Pāṇḍyas, the only great power left in the plains. The Bāṇa seems to have been an ally, whom he protected against the Pāṇḍyas, if we may rely on a record in which he bears the title 'setter-up of the Makara king'. But this service did not prevent his own expulsion from Kaṇṇanūr. The loss of that capital city naturally increased Rāmanātha's interest in the plateau; it is very significant that no inscription of his dating from after 1277 is to be found in the Kāvēri valley that had once been his domain, while since 1281 his administration on the plateau expanded, and, almost certainly in the year 1283-84, the seat of government was removed to a place called Kundaṇi or Kundāni. The position of this place geographically is worthy of study. A glance at the map shows that it had nothing to recommend it to anyone but a fugitive. It was not merely a temporary retreat for Rāmanātha, for he is seen to have been comfortably established there in 1287. It was on the plateau, but so closely surrounded by wooded mountains as to be almost completely shut off from access from either east or west. A small opening permitted communication with Kolar and the lands of the Tamilian *nāḍ-āḷvas* to the north and north-east; easy access was possible only from the south. This was the new capital from which Rāmanātha chose to survey the collapse of his riparian kingdom and the progress of his long-drawn-out attempt to acquire one in the Karṇāṭaka country at his brother's expense. As his income now depended upon the productivity of the eastern half of the plateau, which, as has been remarked,\* was poorly watered, he furthered development schemes, and subsidized the repair of ancient and breached tanks and the building of new ones, thereby making a very large contribution to the general fertility of the country. There is evidence that the king spent some energies

\* See above, p. 6.

in an attempt to weld his motley collection of subjects into a strong State.

Of the 31 inscriptions of Rāmanātha dated between 1287 and his death in December 1295 the greater number are to be found in the central and southern portions of the modern Kolar district, and in the northern and eastern portions of the modern Bangalore district. There is one exception at Puṅganūr in Chittoor district, about 10 miles north of Naṅgali. It was to this region that Nārasimha III at length confined him. The plain between the Ponnaiyār and Arkāvati was his, including Bannērgaṭṭa, from which Cikka Kēteya had been forced to withdraw, while west of the Arkāvati his possessions were more scattered and must have been held rather precariously. Fortunately for Nārasimha, Rāmanātha's feudatories did not scruple to fight among themselves, while their king struggled with failing health—a factor which may have hastened his withdrawal from Kaṇṇanur. Gifts to temples for the improvement of his health and for his success in battle abound throughout the kingdom from about 1281 until his death, and although it is not proved that these sentiments invariably indicated that the king was ill, the likelihood of that inference is very strong.

The last years of Nārasimha were spent in fighting against Rāmanātha, and in protecting his country from the inroads of Bēḍar, whom his ancestors had successfully restrained but who had grown bold during the civil war, and from the attacks of the Sāntara of Hosagunda, who had set upon Kūḍali in February 1287. The Sāntara, freed from Sēvuṇa control by the instrumentality of the Hoysaḷa, was now predatory at the expense of both. Ammali 'below the Ghats' was visited by a Hoysaḷa army in February 1288, in continuation of the intervention of Prince Ballāḷa during the previous decade.\* In September of the next year 'Biṭṭa's fort' was invested by Nārasimha, Rāmanātha marched to its defence, and a battle took place between them. Further fighting took place in 1290 between the brothers, the scene of conflict being in the east of the modern Tumkūr district, i.e. somewhat further west than had been the case for several years. This activity was beginning to tell on Nārasimha III, and it is clear that from 1286 onwards he made progressively

\*See above, p. 138.

greater use of his son Vīra-Ballāḷa's services. In June and December 1291 Ballāḷa is found 'ruling the kingdom' with the (now out-dated) imperial titles, claiming to be 'gaining praise in his own capital Dōrasamudra' in carrying on the government in peace—a statement that seems to imply that war with Rāmanātha had temporarily subsided. There is reason to believe that his father died in the previous September, for the king's henchman, whose ancestor died when Sōmēśvara was dangerously ill, committed suicide with part of his family in that month.

The realm which Ballāḷa III inherited was weaker than it had ever been: it was divided against itself, enfeebled by wars of indecisive event against stronger or more energetic foes; the economic condition of the country was at its lowest ebb, and morale generally was relaxed.

## Chapter Six

### THE COLLAPSE

(The reigns of Ballāḷa III and Ballāḷa IV)

§1. 1291-1301. *A troublesome inheritance; Ballāḷa survives the first test.*

Ballāḷa was about 28 years of age when he came to the throne, and it is certain that he had already a wide experience of governmental technique. His reign turned out to be the longest of the reigns of the dynasty, and he is to be counted for all useful purposes the last of his line. His youth, middle-age, senility and death epitomize in a remarkable way the last efforts and collapse of the Hoysaḷa dynasty. Much as it may astonish readers unfamiliar with the Hindu kingdom that so much should turn upon the development of an individual personality, yet *personality* is the key to the whole story. It seems, reviewing this reign, as if in the lifetime of 'Vīra-Ballāḷa-dēvarasa' the linked lives of all his ancestors came to the end of their course, so that with his sudden death, cutting off an old age of prolonged and agonizing ineptitude, the family itself came to a close. This end was as abrupt and complete as it was dramatic. No doubt its appearance of inevitability is an illusion, but the facts as outlined below fall naturally into a pattern that admits of a fall without a corresponding rise. The dynasty made a brave show to the last, but was worn out. The explanations given in this book, which are believed to be correct and are in every way typical, relate merely to the *mechanism* of a process of decay which we find universal among human expedients of government, which, at their best, always look as if they will last for ever.

The low state of governmental control in the 1290's is aptly illustrated by a short episode in the history of the small mountain State of Kaḷaṣa. Within a few weeks of Ballāḷa III's coronation a rival claimant to the principal seat at Kaḷaṣa, who may have been favoured with Ballāḷa's support, demanded a part of that territory. A short civil war broke out in which the inhabitants of several Hoysaḷa districts took part; the previous incumbent



remained in power, and his contumacy went unpunished, though his prosperity was later undermined when Ballāḷa regained control of the trade routes which passed through Kaḷaśa towards Belūr. In the time of Ballāḷa II, had it been in the Hoysala's interest, he could have disposed of the petty State with little difficulty: now Kaḷaśa chiefs had become rich on tolls levied on goods passing through their territory, and were in a position to flout Hoysala wishes.

Rāmanātha, having enjoyed a short respite, seized the opportunity of Ballāḷa's accession to attack with renewed zeal. The southern Bangalore district was held by Ballāḷa; in July 1292 Rāmanātha invaded it. An offensive on a broad front developed, but Ballāḷa was able to keep Rāmanātha's forces out of the more valuable agricultural land south of Hiriya-Gaṅgavāḍi. By March 1295 Rāmanātha attacked Kuṇigal, which he had already outflanked, and in November of that year he himself was attacked by Ballāḷa in Sire-nāḍ, not far south of Heñjēru, a fact which demonstrates the extent of Rāmanātha's progress in the north. But by this time Rāmanātha himself was dying, and his power had already been transferred to his son Viśvanātha.

Six inscriptions only have so far been discovered belonging to Viśvanātha, and some mystery surrounds his end. Few though they are, the records tell us that his ministers concentrated on developing areas where there was little to impede the revenue demands; moreover, either the king's authority was recognized within a limited distance of Kundāṇi, or the districts remote from the capital were too impoverished by the civil war to be able to set up works of merit for which records would be required. Nothing is heard of 'Pośaḷa Vīra-Viśvanātha-dēvar' after the year Hēmalambi (1297-98). There is no evidence that Ballāḷa III invaded the Eastern Kingdom in force, or indeed that he absorbed it rapidly. One cannot therefore assume that Viśvanātha died at the hands of Ballāḷa or his agents. He may have died of disease, or he may have been shut up in a fortress by rebellious subordinates. However this may have been, a certain cohesion and resistance in the Eastern Kingdom itself prevented Ballāḷa's reoccupation of the area until after 1301; but it cannot be taken for granted that that resistance was organized by or in favour of Viśvanātha.

Meanwhile the degraded condition of the Hoysala power in

the West was demonstrated by yet another fiasco. Ballāḷa III sent Beṭṭarasa-*daṇṇāyaka* to Pālpāre, which was in the hands of a Caṅgāḷva chief. The town fell, and was occupied by the general, but he was soon turned out of it by a coalition of all the rulers of the south-western *nāḍs* in contact with the Caṅgāḷva. In the end only a little of the captured territory was retained by Beṭṭarasa.

Another minister, Bīreya-*daṇṇāyaka*, lost an officer in a battle of early 1292 against a rebel bearing the title *malapa*. It was a scandal that hill-chiefs were attempting to repeat at the expense of the Hoysaḷa the experiment which had, four centuries before, brought the Hoysaḷa himself to prominence in the plateau; and that the Hoysaḷa had difficulty in thwarting this.

In February two years later, according to a rather dubious inscription, the famous Pratāpa Rudra of the Kākatiya family reached Muḷukunte, about 65 miles east of Dōrasamudra and about the same distance from Kolar, while on an armed tour of the *tīrthas* in the East. It would appear that he kept at a reasonable distance from both the Hoysaḷa rulers. The Khaṇḍeya-rāya of whom mention has already been made\* was in Ballāḷa's service, it is interesting to note, preferring the opportunities with the Hoysaḷa to life with his pugnacious father Mummaḍi Siṅgaya-*nāyaka* in their wild retreat between Kummaṭa and the Tuṅga-bhadra. The situation in the Sāntara country was critical: a certain Kōṭi-nāyaka, whose career was one of the most brilliant of the age, was ruling in Hosagunda on behalf of Bommarasa and had sustained both an attack from the Sēvuṇa Rāmacandra and also several conflicts with the latter's *daḷavōyi* in the South, Paraśurāma-dēva. Ballāḷa III had maintained a representative in those regions who had been involved in fighting with the ruler of Sētu, but by what seems to have been a foolish move the Hoysaḷa had taken Hosagunda for himself and thus united all the Sāntaras against him. In May 1299 he fought a number of their officers, and seems by the end of the next year to have put himself into a strong position, having captured Kōṭi-nāyaka without losing Hosagunda. He followed this up by moving north into the Kadamba territory of Banavāse, and encamped at Sirise, held long ago by Ballāḷa II. This camp was clearly

\* See above, p. 137.

chosen once again to control the trade which flowed into the Kadamba and Sāntara country through the important road-junction.\* There he was attacked by a large force led by a minister of the Kadamba Kāma-dēvarasa, and retired southwards, leaving a *nāyaka* at Uddhare, a place which had in the Hoysaḷa's interest played often before an important part in the politics of Banavāse. There in February 1301 his force was besieged, and its commander killed. For the greater part of three years nothing further is heard of Ballāḷa's activities in the North. He was sufficiently occupied in a number of ventures elsewhere.

## §2. 1301-1303. *The reunion of the Hoysaḷa kingdom.*

In December 1301 a decisive step was taken towards the re-uniting of the kingdom. We must not utterly rule out the possibility of a voluntary reunion between the cousins, though there is nothing in our evidence to suggest it. The sword was not laid aside, but a more subtle attack was made on the religious susceptibilities of the inhabitants, and particularly those who were in any way connected with religious endowments. A proclamation was issued to all the heads of *maṭhas* and *sthānas*, that is, the temples, shrines, centres of mendicant and teaching orders, colleges and places of pilgrimage, within the 'well-known Kundāṇi kingdom', consisting of twenty named *nāḍis* and 'all others' together forming the kingdom which Rāmanātha had ruled since 1287 both on the plateau and on the plains immediately beneath the first range-mass. Each copy of the proclamation recites that land has been granted to the god or gods in question or taxes remitted, especially taxes on gifts to the institutions, a levy which must have made the Kundāṇi government unpopular amongst the clerics. These grants, the acceptance of which implied acquiescence in Ballāḷa's rule, were made on condition that the dignitaries addressed undertook that worship should be conducted properly for the benefit of 'ourselves and our kingdom', that temple repairs should be executed, and that prayers should be recited for 'our prosperity'. Saving a few malcontents, from then onwards the Hoysaḷa country was united under Ballāḷa III.

\* See above, pp. 97 and 101.

§3. 1303-1309. *Kampila-dēva appears on the scene and Ballāla disperses his own energy.*

Meanwhile matters in the North progressed and a new front was opened with the repulse—the costly repulse—of a grave invasion. In 1303 Sōmeya-dāṇṇāyaka, husband of Ballāla's sister, normally stationed at Bematūrkalu, the modern Chitaldrug, marched to Hoḷalkere, twelve miles to the south of that town, and there fought to the death against Kampila-dēva, a general in the Sēvuṇa army. There seems now to be no doubt but that this was that son of Mummaḍi Siṅgaya-nāyaka who subsequently ruled at Kampili, on the south bank of the Tuṅga-bhadrā, in the dominions of his father, in fact what the Muslim authors call the Kanbīlah kingdom. That family had a remarkable career. The father was at war with his northern neighbour and in a state of uneasy alliance with that ruler's enemy, the Hoysaḷa; one of his sons served one of the rivals, and another served the other. The geographical position of the kingdom probably accounts for this curiosity. The relations between Kampili and Dōrasamudra deserve close attention, since upon them depended the rise of Vijayanagara.

Until 1311 Ballāla III was occupied by a surprising variety of affairs. We can tell from the scarcity of records that the interval was not spent prosperously; in fact all our evidence, both positive and negative, points to a strange lack of realism at Dōrasamudra. The campaign in the Sāntara country progressed, and with Sāntara aid the Hoysaḷa was able to inflict defeats upon a Sēvuṇa commander, by name Ebhara-or Abhar-nāyaka.\* The latter had appeared on the scene between 1301 and 1303, when we find him encamped at Raṭṭihalli, and was almost certainly operating with Kadamba support. Meanwhile to the east of the Sāntara country, as we have seen, Sēvuṇa forces under Kampila-dēva were able to make deep thrusts into the outskirts of the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ well south, of course, of the boundary held in the time of Nārasimha II. Ballāla himself 'having led an expedition against the Āryas in the North, destroyed the fort of Nākkigundi † and achieved victory'; the war continued into 1305, when the Hoysaḷa

\* Several variants of the spelling of this intriguing name are found: at any rate he was not a Karpātaka man.

† Not so far identified.

and Sēvuṇa may have come almost face to face: a battle between Hoysaḷa and Sēvuṇa forces certainly took place then, and an inscription depicts Ballāḷa's valour after Rāma-dēva, that is, Rāmacandra, had given orders in these words, 'You must take the king of the Kaṇṇāṭakas, and seize and give me that tiger's cub', an expression which reflects both the methods of warfare of the period and the feeling among his subjects which still supported the Hoysaḷa. Not content with these exacting activities, he sent an expedition beyond the eastern boundaries of the Kundāṇi kingdom. He there engaged in conflict with a Pāṇḍya force—the first of a series of such engagements—and seems to have roamed to within striking distance, at least, of Kāñci, where he was to rule for a period some twenty years later. At this point, however, he seems to have embarrassed both the Kāḍava, whom he claims to have bereaved, and the Telugu Cōḍa of Nellore. It is plain that he met no determined resistance, but that his own energies were not sufficient to turn this to good account: fortunately Kaṇṇarūr was *not* retrieved. In the fighting which dragged on into 1309, and which is almost entirely hidden from us by lack of detailed references in contemporary records, we come across the name of Ballappa-*daṇṇāyaka*, a relation by marriage of the king, who was one of his principal lieutenants in the modern Bangalore district, and was about to become one of the foremost of the Hoysaḷa's subjects.

The effect of the long and complex struggle against the Sēvuṇa, against rebels, adherents of Rāmanātha's family, and enemies below the Ghats, was evidently to weaken the classes which had, until the second half of the previous century, been in unchallenged control of the social and political life of the country. Now acts of terrorism were frequent, patronage had suffered a severe blow, and the land-holders were obliged to oppress the cultivators. The merchant guilds were ever a strong community, and it is unlikely that they suffered as much as most in the prevailing disquiet; the artisans, however, felt it necessary to protect themselves from being crushed between opposing interests, and this period saw the rise of the Vira-Paṇicāḷas, a guild of superior artisans, modelled deliberately on the pattern of the Vira-Baṇaṇḱas, the great international trade corporation. The king took care to give these folk special privileges throughout the kingdom, and royal encouragement enabled them to achieve,

corporately, a high status, especially in the fast-developing eastern half of the kingdom.

In the spring of 1310 the king was ruling an exhausted domain; one record shows him ruling in conjunction with two *daṇḍāyakas*, one of whom appears to have been a relation by marriage. This very rare feature is a clear indication of the unhealthy condition of the administration.

#### §4. 1309-1315. *The episode of Malik Nāib.*

It was at such a juncture as this that Malik Nāib Hazārdīnārī, otherwise Malik Kāfūr, deputy of the Sultan 'Alā' ud-dīn Khaljī of Delhi, set out from that city for the South, with the intention of subduing the southern kings to his master's rule, of relieving them of the greater part of their bullion and jewels, such as the treasury at Delhi always needed, and of offering to the 'unbelievers' an opportunity of embracing Islam. It has been said that Malik Nāib was himself, before his conversion, a Hindu from the Deccan, and there may be some truth in this, though his remarkable success can be explained without recourse to such a hypothesis. He had already reached greatness as a result of his conquests of the two greatest monarchs of the peninsula, Rāmacandra Sēvuṇa of Dēvagiri and the Kākatīya Pratāpa Rudra of Wāraṅgal; it was obvious that the Sultan had at his disposal a military machine far superior to anything which either the Sēvuṇa or the Kākatīya kingdoms could muster, and the wealth which was looted in the course of those campaigns whetted an insatiable appetite. The news of the fall of his neighbours cannot have produced an unmixed effect upon Ballāḷa III. He may have thought himself too far-off from Delhi to attract the Sultan's attention; on the other hand the speedy eclipse of the Sēvuṇa relieved the pressure on his northern frontier, and would have opened up visions of a reconquest of Belvoḷa but for the virility of the Kampili kingdom on the banks of the Tuṅga-bhadra. The weakness, moreover, of the government at Wāraṅgal might simplify a future attack in the Tamil country, with the object of recovering Kaṇṇanūr and perhaps of making even more lucrative gains. He can hardly have suspected the truth, that the Sultan had heard of the dissensions in the South, of the great and long-accumulated riches of the temples in the

Cōja and Pāṇḍya countries, and of the excellent chances of taking everything with little or no danger, and was planning to use the Hoysala as a means of subduing all the peninsula as far as Cape Comorin to the Sultanate of Delhi.

Malik Nāib's orders were put in general terms: he was to force the principal rulers of the Kārṇāṭaka and Tamil districts to accept the sovereignty of 'Alā' ud-dīn, to take tribute from them, and wherever he found recusants, to force them to submit and to take from them a heavy indemnity; he was to tempt as many people as possible to turn to Islam, and to take all possible steps to raise in the South the respect for the Religion and for the Sultan. Rāmacandra, after his enforced submission, had been treated kindly and had been given the title *Rāy-rāyān* ('Chief of the Indian Kings'<sup>\*</sup>); the Malik could rely upon him for assistance, and Dēvagiri would accordingly be a stage on the journey southwards.

Malik Nāib reached Dēvagiri in January or February 1311 and found that affairs there were not entirely to his satisfaction. Rāmacandra died almost immediately after his arrival and his successor Śaṅkara was not well-disposed towards the Muslims. Amīr Khusrau makes out that the Sēvuṇa spared no pains to satisfy the Malik's demands, but from elsewhere we learn that the latter had to take precautions to secure the co-operation of the Hindu nobles, and to protect his own communications. But in one respect he obtained willing assistance: his project of marching by way of Dōrasamudra, the then capital of Kārṇāṭaka, was most attractive to the Sēvuṇa, who not only provided military assistance on the route thither, ordering a force from Gulbarga to protect the Muslims' movements, but also sent to Paraśurāma-dēva, one of his *daḷavāyis*, ordering him to prepare everything so that Malik Nāib's force might pass through Kuntala with the utmost speed and enter the Hoysala-nāḍ with the maximum surprise. Paraśurāma-dēva, whom we have noticed before,<sup>†</sup> was well acquainted with the country north of the Hoysala districts, and may himself have crossed the Tuṅga-bhadra during the reign of Nārasimha III when Hoysala control of the Pāṇḍya-nāḍ was lost. We may imagine that he was delighted to receive such a commission.<sup>‡</sup>

\* Not *rāya-nāyāṇa*, as has been suggested.

† See above, p. 145.

By forced marches of great rapidity the Malik arrived within sight of Dōrasamudra 22 days, says Amīr Khusrau, after his entry into Dēvagiri. It was not merely the desire for surprise that brought him across the Deccan at such a pace; he had learnt whilst in camp with Paraśurāma-dēva that a civil war had broken out between the two most active sons of the Pāṇḍya king in the Tamil country, and that Sundara, one of the Pāṇḍya brothers, who had reigned along with his father for at least six years, had taken the then almost unprecedented course of murdering the latter, and was in consequence in need of support against his brother Vira Pāṇḍya. Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya, the murdered man, seems to have lived up to the time of the Malik's arrival in Kaṇṇāṭaka, at the earliest, and there is some room for controversy about the date of the murder;<sup>2</sup> but it is clear that the murderer was by this time in a position of some difficulty as the tide of affairs in the Tamil country had turned against him, and he had sought the aid of Ballāḷa III, who was, as we know, in an excellent geographical position to attack the possessions of Vira Pāṇḍya, which lay in and north of the Kāvēri valley. We know that Ballāḷa's caution regarding new projects was insufficient. Sundara had not hesitated to approach him, for he knew that the Hoysaḷa was interested in recovering the ill-fated Kaṇṇanūr kingdom, which no doubt he promised to him if he should help to subdue Vira Pāṇḍya. It has ever been the fashion to promise parts of the enemy's territory as a reward for assistance in war. We learn from Amīr Khusrau that Ballāḷa had responded favourably to this invitation, and it was well-known that he intended to take advantage of the conflict on the plains at the expense of both the brothers. This fits perfectly with what we know of Ballāḷa's character, ever restless and opportunistic, and the history of the land immediately beneath the Ghats to the south of Kundāṇi. Few Hoysaḷas would, since the aberration in Ballāḷa II's day, have failed to be attracted by such a proposition.

Ballāḷa III thus moved towards the Kāvēri valley, and was well on his way towards Kaṇṇanūr when he heard that Malik Nāib had reached Paraśurāma's camp. There cannot be the smallest doubt but that news of the Muslim's arrival there with a large and well-equipped army, and of the embassy, if such indeed there was, from Sundara Pāṇḍya being entertained by Malik Nāib, must have been conveyed to the Hoysaḷa very soon



after the events themselves. He at once returned to Dōrasamudra, though it seems from what followed that he was obliged to return with all speed and left slower-moving units of the army to come up when they could. He cannot have arrived a day too soon, for Dōrasamudra was surrounded by the advance guard of Malik Nāib's men, and the remainder joined them almost at once. An attack was made on the fort, and we gather that the Muslims' ballista was employed to some effect. Ballāla put up no more than a fortnight's resistance; he submitted unconditionally, if we are to trust Amīr Khusrau, or, more probably, as appears from the account of 'Iṣāmī, as the result of a conference with Malik Nāib. In the course of this the latter suggested that Ballāla would profit in numerous ways if he came to the Sultan's aid and assisted Malik Nāib on his way to Ma'bar, in other words the Cōla-Pāṇḍya country in the plains. Ballāla could lead the Muslim army by an unfrequented route, so that both Sundara and Vīra might be unaware of his arrival; he could cover its movements, provide interpreters and guides in the Tamil country, and be generally very useful; he could be trusted to be loyal, as it was well-known that he had no friends there, and whilst in the company of the Malik he would have no chance of escaping vengeance.

Now this proposition was exceedingly attractive to Ballāla. Here was an opportunity to recover Kaṇṇanūr under very favourable conditions, with the Pāṇḍya kings practically prostrate; besides the Pāṇḍya family, the 'Five Pāṇḍyas' as they were traditionally called, there was no power in the Tamil country worth considering, and the only competitor there was the Kākatiya, whose movements were in any case restricted by intermittent pressure from the Sultan of Delhi. If the Malik's word was to be trusted the Sultan would eye the Hoysala favourably if he became an ally, and he would be released from fear of further incursions. Moreover, there was no alternative; if he refused he could not obtain aid from any other quarter. The Sēvuṇa and Kākatiya were in no position to help him, had they wished to do so, and the only other person whose aid he could hope to obtain was Vīra Pāṇḍya. When he turned back to Dōrasamudra, anticipating danger, he had sent to Vīra, but the latter replied that he was unable to assist, as he had once attempted to help Pratāpa Rudra in similar circumstances and had been

badly requited for his pains, while in any case he needed at that moment all the forces he could muster and pay. The incongruity of asking aid from a king whom one was on the point of attacking is a feature that will not surprise those acquainted with Indian diplomatic complexities. We can imagine Vira Pāṇḍya saying, 'I do not blame him: if I were in his position I should do the same. For our peoples' sakes we must all be opportunists.'

Malik Nāib took from Ballāḷa a large quantity of treasure and most of the royal elephants as a security for his good behaviour, and then the conspirators made their way down the Ghats, achieving the surprise which they desired. The Muslim authors give a rather confusing picture of Malik Nāib's activities in the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya country, but tell us little or nothing about Ballāḷa's success there. There can be little doubt but that he made the most of his opportunity, and took booty, collected the year's revenue, and otherwise took steps to consolidate his hold on the Kāvēri valley, where mostly the Malik himself was occupied, with a view to the time when the latter would have returned to Delhi.

It seems that the Malik intended to deal with the Tamil country at top speed. He went to Madura to look for Sundara Pāṇḍya but the latter escaped him, and he was hardly rewarded for his trouble in going there. He searched here and there for Vira Pāṇḍya, chasing him from one town to another, back and forth along the Kāvēri, until he had demolished the principal temples, stripped them of the gold plates which the great Jaṭāvarman Sundara had proudly affixed upon their domes less than 50 years before, dug up the buried hoards of specie and jewels to be found there, captured two of the Pāṇḍya princes and more or less held them to ransom, and when he thought that he had collected all the valuables, horses and elephants that he could, he made his way back to Delhi by way of Dōrasamudra. Before he left, however, he must have had some colloquies with the Muslims who were employed in the Pāṇḍya Courts, and must have satisfied them by building at Rāmēśvaram, one of the holiest of the Hindu places of pilgrimage, a mosque, traces of which are not yet obliterated. The towns which attracted Malik Nāib's attention tell us that his energies received some guidance from just such a mind as the Hoysala's: they were Kappanūr (called in our sources Kandūr), Cidambaram (called Barhatpūrī) and Viradhāvaḷam, which has been identified with Uyyakkonḍān

Tirumalai, two miles from Uṛaiyūr. Vīradhāvaḷam had been a Pāṇḍya capital city since about 1260.<sup>3</sup>

The triumphal return of Malik Nāib to Delhi does not concern us here, but it is important to notice, and to contradict, the statement of 'Iṣāmī that Ballāḷa III was taken to Delhi to make obeisance to the Sultan. He says as follows:

'...to kiss the Shāh's foot he brought the Rāi Balāl. The Shah smiled like the rose of the dawn, and gave a special robe of honour to Malik Nāib. The Shāh ordered that to the exalted Balāl, because he had been the guide in front of the Army, they should give a parasol together with a special robe of honour, and should place an Imperial turban on his head. To him he gave a gratuity of 10 lakhs of *tankhahs*,\* and showing him honour made him many promises. And after that he sent him back to his country and gave him his land and its produce as a free gift.'

On the contrary it seems that Ballāḷa, out of a mixed spirit of subservience to Malik Nāib and curiosity regarding the country of the Sēvuṇa through which they had to pass, accompanied the Muslim as far as Jālṇa only. Ballāḷa could hardly have gone further with a large retinue, such as Firishtah says accompanied him to Jālṇa. That town was but a short distance south-east of Dēvagiri, and had, according to Firishtah, been the place where Malik Nāib had encamped while investigating Sēvuṇa loyalty, and may have been the place where several Sēvuṇa nobles were incarcerated pending his own safe return from the South. For the Hoysala it would have been impolitic to go further north, which would have meant invading a sphere to which he had no pretensions; but the journey towards the Sēvuṇa capital from the Hoysala country, and also southwards again, must have been very interesting and entertaining for Ballāḷa III. One wonders whether he could have resisted the temptation at least to catch a glimpse of the remarkable round, sheer-sided fortress of Dēvagiri. The prostrate Sēvuṇa was about to lose his Empire, while his old enemy was flourishing. 'Iṣāmī's mistake may be due to the fact that he wrote about 40 years after the events.† In fact Vira-Ballāḷa, the son of Ballāḷa III, was sent to Delhi, as his father no doubt promised, perhaps in the autumn of 1311,

\* Equivalent to five times the yearly stipend of a *Khān* (the highest rank under the Sultanate) in the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

† See below, p. 233.

arriving there in the early spring of 1312. It was the fashion for Hindu 'Rāis' to pay state visits to the Sultan, and there they were generally well entertained. Vira-Ballāja seems to have stayed at Delhi until March 1313, when he returned and was welcomed at the frontier by his father one day in June. From 'Iṣāmi's point of view the error is trivial.

It is possible to allot to the arrival of the Muslim force in southern India in the spring of 1311 an importance altogether greater than the facts allow. But the Hoysala kingdom undoubtedly took another step towards disintegration during that year. The inscriptions that exist show us little of what actually took place—hence our gratitude to the Muslim writers—but those which were set up then, and they were few, reveal a subtle change. There are three inscriptions, of the usual laconic and cryptic kind, which refer distinctly to the fighting which took place between Ballāja III and Malik Nāib. The first, at Hosahalli, 70 miles north of Dōrasamudra, and very near the Malik's line of approach, is dated in February 1311. It mentions a movement in the direction of the capital, the fighting of Bommaya-nāyaka, and the *Turuka* or Muslims, and relates the death of a warrior in battle. The second, at Dudda, a place close to the capital, is misdated by a slip, but belongs to January-February 1311.<sup>4</sup> It relates that while Vira-Vallāja-dēvar was ruling, when the 'Turks' came and attacked Dōrasamudra, a certain person fought to the admiration of both armies and fell. The third, at Belūr itself, dated approximately the 4th of March of the same year, tells how, while Vira-Ballāja-dēvarasa (the proper manner of referring to the king) was ruling and the 'Turks' 'were about' (?), a certain warrior fought on horse-back (and presumably died). From 1311 to 1313 no inscription of Ballāja III appears bearing his full titles, and from this period onwards we find an increasing number of records issued in the names, not of the king himself, but of *daṇṇāyakas* and *sāmantas* theoretically the king's subordinates. The king's prestige and, therefore, his seat upon the throne were severely undermined.

As for the Tamil country, the feud there between Sundara and Vira Pāṇḍya continued, and dragged on for six years at least. Ballāja seems to have remained at war with Vira Pāṇḍya, though until 1315 no important engagement appears to have taken place. A new element in the political problems of the southern

Deccan was the constant possibility that a band of Muslims might enter the country from the North and throw everything into confusion. We find Ballāḷa in 1315 commencing to use regularly the title Viṣṇuvardhana; doubtless in an attempt to improve his standing and restore confidence. In March-April of that year he is said to be ruling the kingdom in 'fair peace', while his minister Mādhava-*daṇḍāyaka* ruled a large fief in the south of the Hoysala-nāḍ from Terakaṇāmbi with the titles 'ruiner of the Pāṇḍya country, elephant to the lotus-pond which was the Pāṇḍya army'. There is ground for believing that Hoysala rule was restored over land near Sēvūr in the modern Avanāsi *tāluka*, quite 30 miles west of the Kāvēri in territory acquired by Nārasimha II and perhaps held by Rāmanātha. If Ballāḷa in fact held that region, it could only have been at the expense of the Pāṇḍyas. Rashīd ud-dīn in his *Jāmī ut-Tawārīkh* says that there was another country in India besides Ma'bar called Dēvagīr (=Dēvagiri), which adjoined Ma'bar inland, the king of which was at constant enmity with the Dēvar of Ma'bar. Its capital was Dōrōsamundūr (*sic*)! Clearly the Hoysala's hostility towards Vira Pāṇḍya was notorious.

§5. 1315-1318. *The aberration is confirmed by a second acquisition of territory in the Tamil country.*

In 1316 the king was living at Dōrasamudra, having built a residence there. It may be that he had repaired damage caused by Malik Nālīb, but it is more than likely that he found that the palace required modernizing. Sewell was quite wrong in supposing that Malik Nālīb destroyed the capital: that could have served little purpose, and the remains there to this day refute such a theory. The king left soon after the rebuilding, for an extraordinary complication had arisen in the Tamil country. Vira Pāṇḍya, being pressed by both the Hoysala and his brother Sundara, sought and obtained the aid of Tiruvadi Kulaśēkhara, the Kērala king, and these two attempted to hold the Cōḷa country. Sundara, whose headquarters had been at Madura since 1310, sent for aid to Pratāpa Rudra at Wāraṅgal, and he, being free from fear of the Sultan for the time being, sent an army under Dēvarināyaka to the South. Ballāḷa had the choice between letting the

two pairs of allies fight it out between them and joining in the fray. Wisdom would have urged the former course but Ballāḷa appears to have attached himself to the side of Sundara, with apparent success—if not unqualified success. The Kākatīya forces together with those of the Hoysaḷa were victorious. Pratāpa Rudra set up an inscription at Śrīraṅgam commemorating his defeat of the 'Five Pāṇḍyas', which suggests that Sundara too fell foul of him before he was finished; he then claimed to have defeated Vīra Pāṇḍya and his Malayāḷi ally, and to have set Sundara upon the throne of Viradhāvaḷam. Ballāḷa fought more than once during this campaign, and received as his reward a piece of territory which included the town of Aruṇasamudra which he speedily renamed Aruṇasamudra-Ballāḷa-ṭaṭṭaṇa. This town remains unidentified, but from the circumstances in which it is mentioned it seems to have been either in the Kāvēri valley, or, more probably, in the region of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. This latter situation fits the occasion of its acquisition well, for the defeat of the Pāṇḍyas by the Kākatīya and Hoysaḷa alliance occurred principally at Tiruvadi-kunṅam, which is situated in an east-south-east direction, midway between Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and the sea. Some fighting continued early in the next year, 1318, but Ballāḷa felt able to leave Aruṇasamudra for Dōrasamudra in November, arriving there just over three weeks later.

§6. 1318-1326. *Kampila-dēva again provokes the Hoysaḷa, and the latter again becomes involved in the Tamil country.*

Though Ballāḷa still held Hosagunda, the disgraces of the previous years had encouraged insults from the West, and, despite the king's preoccupations with the East, an army had to be raised to inflict punishment on invaders from Ālvakhēḍa below the Ghats. Yet there was ample work to do, not only to maintain order throughout the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ and the north-west, but to attempt to restore Hoysaḷa control to the regions south of the Tuṅgabhadra. This was impeded by the attitude assumed by Kampila-dēva, who has appeared already in this history.\* Malik Nāib's campaigns against the Sēvūṇa had been

\* See above, p. 147.

costly and disruptive; the Hoysaḷa was in a position to benefit therefrom, and it was clearly his duty to emulate Ballāḷa II and extend his protection to as great a portion of Kaṛṇāṭaka as possible. But the same opportunities were apparent to the ruler of Kampili, whose territory had certain unique advantages in view of contemporary conditions. A glance at the map will demonstrate that Kampili itself was in an extremely strong position strategically.\* It lay to the south of the Tuṅgabhadra, at that point a river of ample width. If attack might be anticipated from the north-west and south-west, huge hill-masses protected the approaches; by the side of the river itself sufficient room was available for manoeuvre. Those two hill-masses served as refuges for the king and his Court during an invasion of unusual violence, and they were provided with forts and elaborate works which could defeat the efforts of all but the most determined foes. Kummaṭa, near the peak of one of these hills, had been an object of attention by both Viṣṇuvardhana and Ballāḷa, both of whom recognized its intrinsic importance; but in their days no power of consequence could derive much advantage from its possession. Now it formed the chief hill-fort of the Kampili kingdom, and became a place of renown throughout the peninsula. Malik Nāib went on a 'hunting expedition' in Kuntala from his headquarters in Dēvagiri in or about 1314. According to 'Iṣāmi he destroyed the region about Kummaṭa and stayed at that fort for about a week. A controversy has arisen as to its actual position: was it north of the river, to the north-west of Āneguṇḍi? The site which there catches the eye seems ideally suited for such a fortress, nestling in woods, practically inaccessible. But we know that Kummaṭa was close to an inferior and lower fortified place called Hosamale, and this encourages us to doubt the former suggestion. South of the river the town of Hosapet marked the original southern and western boundary of Kampili, though by 1320 Kampila's soldiers must have reached Kōgali. South of Hosapet lies the northern tip of the enormous mass of the hill-chain, the southern bulk of which bears the name Kumāra-svāmi-beṭṭa, and perhaps in pre-Kampili days was called Sāvimale.† In this mass is to be found the fort of Rāman-drug, 'Rāma's fort', and a number of ruined

\* Reference should be made to Map 3.

† See above, p. 25.

fortifications, many of which almost certainly date from this period. An inscription recently discovered at Rāmgadh in this very region identifies, or seems to identify, Hosamale with Rāmgadh itself. The inscription bears the date corresponding to 1528, in the reign of the Vijayanagara monarch Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya, and mentions Kumāra Rāma (after whom the Rāmandrug and Rāmgadh were named, and possibly even the *Kumāra-svāmi*-betṭa itself) the son of 'Khaṇḍerāya Kampila-rāya', son of 'Mummaḍi Siṅgaṇa'. By that time Kumāra Rāma had become an almost legendary figure, whose exploits against the Muslims in particular figure in works still read in Karṇāṭaka.\* It is of interest to note that apparently—we cannot be sure until the text of the inscription is published—the Vijayanagara kings of the 16th century believed that Hosamale was to the south of their capital, and that the exploits of the famous Kumāra Rāma took place in those hills. If this be the case, Kummaṭa, and the historical conflict of Kampila-dēva, Rāma's father, are to be placed in those heights. There we must locate the Hosamale-durga or Hosadurga with which Ballāḷa III himself was later to be acquainted. There is no objection to the placing of Kummaṭa to the south of the river; on the contrary Ballāḷa's attitude is the better explained by it. For though the land to the south and west of Kampili was relatively wild and inhospitable, Kampila must by 1320 have obtained the rich lands around Siruguppe, which had once been Hoysaḷa possessions, and he was soon engaged in an attempt to bring the country from Huligere to Koppaṇa and from Uchchaṅgi to Bellary under his control. His interests and those of Ballāḷa thus directly conflicted. In April 1320, we learn, Ballāḷa, assisted by a force from the Sāntara country, marched against Kampila-dēva, met him, and then, 'leaving him behind' at a place called Baḷaha which remains to be identified, marched on to Doravaḍi, about 10 miles south of Kampili, and there fought a battle, remaining on the field as the victor. It is clear that a compromise resulted; to keep a close watch on the north-east Ballāḷa occupied the valuable post of Penugonḍa, to become famous in Vijayanagara times, and there in September of that year his son-in-law or sister's son Māceya-danḍāyaka ruled on his behalf. Penugonḍa being but a few miles east of

\* See below, p. 215.



Roddam, it is legitimate to believe that Ballāla III eclipsed the power of the Cōla of Niḍugal, whose family had been troublesome to the Hoysala for many years. But this aroused the jealousy of certain local chiefs who did not fail to give Māceya anxiety from time to time.

In July 1321 Ballāla was back in Aruṇasamudra, but was on tour during a part of that and the next year, visiting a camp called Pudu-paḍai-viḍu and later Hariharapura in the south of the Hoysala-nāḍ. Vira Pāṇḍya in 1322 made an attack upon Sundara, who, it will be remembered, had been placed on the Pāṇḍya throne at Viradhāvaḷam in 1317. He was defeated by Sundara, and in this battle a relative of Ballāla by name Siṅgeya-dannāyaka took part on the side of Vira Pāṇḍya and was killed. The Hoysala contingent suffered some other losses besides. It should not be supposed that there was any incongruity in this. When Ballāla III fought in the company of the Kākatīya against Vira Pāṇḍya his object was to weaken the Pāṇḍya ruler in the Cōla-nāḍ; the same object sanctioned the employment of Siṅgeya and others in the camp of the same Vira Pāṇḍya against his brother and other relatives. In December 1322 Ballāla moved into Uṇāmale, that is, the very important town, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. It has been suggested that this was already an object of interest to him on account of his ambitions in the territory between Kāñci and Kaṇṇanūr, and that the town of Aruṇasamudra was near Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. How did he come by this acquisition? The only plausible explanation seems to be that he had already a hold on the region between Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and the Hoysala country, and that his ascendancy there dated from 1317 and the political upheaval of that period, and finally that the defeat of Vira Pāṇḍya put out of his way a possible rival whose resentment he might otherwise have had cause to fear. He may have taken the place by direct aggression; on the other hand Vira Pāṇḍya may have given it to him as the advance price of his assistance against Sundara, and there we have as likely an explanation as is possible without further finds of evidence. Unfortunately for the Hoysala family, Ballāla took a great liking to this town, and from 1322 began to use it as his sub-capital, hoping to derive profit from the plains, while maintaining contact with the districts that had formed Rāmanātha's kingdom and which were now loyal to himself. It seems that for the while the Hoysala

neglected the Kāvēri valley, though waiting for suitable opportunities for the recapture of Kaṇṇanūr. He must have expected that the internecine feuds of the Pāṇḍyas would bring that opportunity sooner or later; it would have been better for him if he had acted without delay.

Hardly had he settled down to watch developments in the Tamil country when fresh embarrassments arose from the North. Kampiḷa, at any rate, was not engaged on a vague and irrelevant affair, miles from the centre of his dominions; on the contrary he was concerned with matters closely connected with his and his family's well-being. In pursuit of the policy which aroused Ballāḷa's resentment in 1320, he attacked Hoysaḷa and in dependent officials in the regions south of Bellary. In 1324 Māceya at Penugonḍa was involved in difficulties, but was victorious in battle. He ruled there still in 1328, and we may judge from this fact that Ballāḷa was able to weather the storm. The area near Kaḍasūr in the north-central Hoysaḷa-nāḍ was attacked and the Huliyeṛu-nāḍ besides. The Hoysaḷa *daṇḍāyaka* and the rulers of Kukkaḷa-nāḍ and doubtless other neighbouring eastern districts rallied to defend the country, and the year 1325 was enlivened by almost continuous conflict with Kampiḷa's troops. Ballāḷa was obliged to superintend the defence from the capital. Matters reached a crisis when the Hoysaḷa grand army marched as far north as Siruguppe, the rich kernel of the Kampiḷi kingdom, and there forced Kampiḷa to accept terms. It was no doubt at this time that Ballāḷa came to an understanding with him as to their respective spheres of influence; it would not be fantastic to suppose that Kampiḷa promised not to interfere with the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ while Ballāḷa was meddling with the Tamil country, while Ballāḷa in return promised not to attempt to take over the government of Belvoḷa. Hardly had this settlement been achieved when Ballāḷa was forced once again into unpleasant contact with the Sultan of Delhi.

§7. 1326-1333. *The shameful episode of Gurshāsp and its aftermath.*

The ravaging of Kampili by Malik Nāib in about 1314\* must have been received by Ballāla with mixed feelings, but since then he had hardly been concerned with the Muslims, except as regards the invasion of Ma'bar by Khusrau Khān in 1319, a matter which merely seemed to make his task in the plains easier. There is no evidence either that he remitted tribute to Delhi during the reign of Mubārak Shāh or that he received a Muslim garrison within his dominions as stated by Firishtah. In 1326-27 the ruler at Delhi was Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh, son of Ghiyās ud-dīn, a man of exceptional energy and the object of about equally enthusiastic praise and hatred in his own day as at present. At the time that concerns us here a relation of his, Malik Bahādur Gurshāsp, who held a high rank in the army, revolted. Khawāja Jahān† failed to subdue him at first, but at length drove him, defeated, southwards. He fled to Kampilādēva, who received him with open arms. The Sultan's army attacked Kampili, and the king together with his family and his guest and Court took to the hills, and were besieged at Kummata for a long time. In the end they were in danger of being starved out, and Kampila decided to perish in battle. He ordered the women to commit *sati*, and arranged for Gurshāsp to be conveyed by a secret route to Dōrasamudra, telling him, according to both Ibn Battūṭah and 'Iṣāmī, that Ballāla would protect him. Kampila then went out into battle and was killed, his fortress was demolished, and his sons were taken to Delhi to be 'made Muslims'. Gurshāsp arrived at Ballāla's Court, but the Hoy-saṣa felt that he could not take the responsibility of keeping him, and returned him in chains to the Muslim general. Thus betrayed, Gurshāsp met a ghastly end which was characteristic of the methods of the period. 'Iṣāmī gives a very brief account, attributing Ballāla's action to 'guile and deceit', but the description of the events by Ibn Battūṭah, who himself was acquainted with one of the sons of Kampila, makes it clear that Ballāla was too terrified of the Muslims to do otherwise. There is no necessity to palliate Ballāla's conduct; it was one of the

\* See above, p. 158.

† The Sultan's general.

most cherished boasts of the Hindu noble of the middle ages that he was 'an adamant cage for the protection of those who sought asylum with him', and the only question that remains is whether the army under the Sultan's orders was so strong that the Hoysaḷa needed to fear its attack. Had the Hoysaḷa's prestige not sunk to a low level one would hardly hesitate to say that if Kampila could withstand the attack and give his life in such a cause, then the Hoysaḷa could scarcely do less. But Ballāḷa took up a weak cause in 1292 and by 1327 his position was less, rather than more, secure, notwithstanding the indications that seem to suggest the contrary.

Kampila's death was deeply mourned in Belvoḷa as well as in his own country, and a vacuum was left in the political set-up in the Tuṅgabhadra valley. Ballāḷa at once began to hope to fill this, and the destruction of Kummaṣṭa must have given him genuine satisfaction. But, far from being of service to the Hoysaḷa dynasty, the interference of the Muslim with Kampili directly led to the foundation of Vijayanagara, which we shall presently consider. Moreover, further Muslim detachments penetrated into the peninsula lured by the tales of untold treasure to be had there almost for the asking. The *Kōyiloḷugu* tells us that disturbances created by the Muslims in the Tamil country commenced in 1327 and ended in 1371. Perhaps to 1327 we should attribute the destruction of the temple doorways and devastation of the countryside mentioned in an inscription at Tīruvāmatūr, in the Ponnaiyār valley, about 20 miles south-east of Tīruvannāmalai, in country at that time ruled by a rival of the Hoysaḷa known as Venṇumāṅkoṇḍa Sambuvaraiyaṅ, 'Emperor of the entire World'. This sporadic Muslim interference may be at the bottom of a statement of Baranī that during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq taxes were recorded as received from various provinces, including Dēvagīr, Telang, Kanpīlsh, Dhōr-samundar, and Ma'bar. The inclusion of Ma'bar casts doubt over the entire statement, but it is possible that after the Gursāshp incident payments were promised, if not made, by Ballāḷa on behalf of the Tamil country as well as the Hoysaḷa kingdom. For some such or similar reasons Firīshṭah thought that that Sultan subjected Karnāṭaka, which he calls Dhōr-samundar, and Kampili as well as Ma'bar and Wāraṅgal to his rule on an equal basis with places near Delhi; and Baranī thought that

Muhammad chose Dēvagiri (which he renamed Daulatābād) as his capital instead of Delhi because of its more central position amid these and other 'conquests'. About 1333 Dōrsamund (*sic*) is attributed by the author of the *Maṣālik ul Abṣār* to Muhammad's Empire as one of the 23 provinces, but one may note its absence in that guise from Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's account. The fact seems to have been that Ballāla habitually adopted a meek attitude towards Delhi, and that this was appreciated there by a ruler who later had the unfortunate experience of sending a force to take and hold Madura for him, and then learning that its commander had set himself up there as an independent ruler. Madura was a good six months' journey from Delhi.

Ballāla III spent the summer and autumn of 1328 at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. His control over the tract of land west of the Kāvēri in and near the modern Coimbatore district continued, though there may have been no communication with them except across the plateau. His inscriptions there are found at Perūr, Sēvūr, Vijayamaṅgalam, Avanāsi and Pāriyūr. There is likewise a record of his at Tiruppatūr, nearly 30 miles north-west of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

The following year saw further trouble in the North, Hoysala forces being in conflict with a certain Parabala-siṅga, who is otherwise unknown. It became necessary for Ballāla to leave Tiruvaṇṇāmalai late in the year, and move, apparently, northwards, where he camped at Virūpākṣa-paṭṭaṇa in the autumn of 1330. The name is tantalizing: there are many such, and identification is almost impossible. In October 1331 he was at Virūpākṣa-Hosadurga, which may well have been the same place. One must guard against the inevitable temptation to identify it with Hampe-Vijayanagara, or even with Hosamale, for in the same month he was at Aruṇasamudra also, which we have reason to assume was in the neighbourhood of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. He then bore the intriguing titles 'Hammira-rāya-brahma-rākṣasa' and 'Rūḍi-rāya-bāḍavānala', referring to campaigns perhaps against Hindu allies of the Sultan, of which no other trace has been found. Muslim adventurers were actually in the midst of the Hoysala country in April 1331, and suffered some losses while on their way, so that it appears that Ballāla might with profit have attended more closely to the affairs of the plateau, and less to his problematical schemes on the plains.

The Muslim band seem not to have left in unnecessary haste, and appear to have been active somewhere in western Mysore in February 1332. Records in the region south of Uṛaiyūr depict Muḥammad Sulṭān as reigning there, and Muslim rule in that sector during this period must be closely linked to the foundation of the Madura Sultanate. Hoysaḷa success in the Tamil country had meanwhile been minute. No inscriptions are found belonging to Ballāḷa in the Kaṇṇanūr region, nor due east of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai itself. There was a spectacular but shortlived visit to Kāñci in 1334-35, which inexplicably led to nothing, but it is doubtful whether the Hoysaḷa collected the revenue anywhere in the plains except near Tiruvaṇṇāmalai itself, the valleys of the Cheyyār and Ponnaiyār above that town, and the district west of the Kāvēri which we have noticed already.

The Hoysaḷa-nāḍ, on the other hand, was falling into decay, the capital itself having become a city amid the estates of absentee landlords. Active spirits had long since migrated to more profitable fields, and wealth and initiative, such as there were, were dissipated over the now very extensive scope of Hoysaḷa interests. Now the eastern districts sported the inscriptions and other signs of wealth and activity which were once characteristic of the western nāḍ, and for the first time since the days of Vinayāditya we are ignorant of the day-to-day history of the cradle of Hoysaḷa greatness. The royal family itself, it will be clear by now, was very largely responsible for this change. Perhaps Ballāḷa III was aware of the direction in which it pointed; at any rate he took a novel step to strengthen the western approaches to the kingdom.

§8. 1333-1336. *The vision of an empire from coast to coast.*

It has been noted that the Hoysaḷa seldom, unless provoked, interested himself in the affairs of the swarming plain beneath the Western Ghats; the Tuḷuva country, though rich in natural resources and in the fruits of an extensive import and export trade with the Arabian Sea, had never been an object of Hoysaḷa ambition. Now no project was too eccentric for Ballāḷa's taste, and we find that he 'married' the ruling queen of the Āḷupa

dynasty, Cikkāyi-tāyi, who was possibly the daughter of Sōyidēva Ālupendra of Bārahakanyāpura, the modern Bārakūr. It is doubtful how he had been received when, more than half a century before,\* he had been sent by his father to bolster up the Sāntara alliance and had seen something of the southern Koṅkaṇa coast. At any rate he must have been well aware of the customs of the folk in that region. The ruling family at Bārakūr followed the *aḷiya-santāna* system of joint families, and was strictly matrilineal, refusing to recognize the Hindu marriage (*vivāha*), which elsewhere brought the wife into the husband's family and power. In South Kanara and Malabar Districts to this day, as in the State of Travancore-Cochin, influential castes adhere to a joint family system, somewhat modified by statute, which does not in theory respect the sanctity of marriage, in striking contrast to the greater part of India. Such a union as that between Ballāḷa and Cikkāyi must have been very distasteful to orthodox feeling on the plateau, where a connexion with such a family would have been considered as in the highest degree shameful. Ballāḷa could in theory have been but one of a succession of husbands, or indeed but one of several co-husbands, and such a status is hardly likely to have been gratifying to the Hoysala. Nevertheless the needs of government, the king thought, had to be met even at such a cost, and the advantages to both countries from an absorption of Tuḷuva into the Hoysala kingdom were obvious. It is clear that such an absorption was stipulated for prior to the 'marriage'. Muḥammad bin Tughluq was known to have designs upon the whole of the peninsula, and had adherents among the petty Sultans who ruled along some fraction of the Malabar coast. Taking into account his tendencies towards and brief rule at Kāñci, Ballāḷa could now claim to rule from coast to coast, as did Harihara of Vijayanagara after him, and the needs of commerce were served by the merger as highly as those of defence. Now the Hoysala's subjects did not have to pay duties on the carriage of goods over the mountains on the eastern border of Tuḷuva. From March 1333 until his death Ballāḷa III was recognized as king in most if not all parts of Tuḷuva.† When in November

\* See above, p. 138.

† The find-spots of his records are given in the sketch-map on p. 137.

of that year Ballāḷa was at Hosabetṭa (if this was not the same as Hosamale) he may have been supervising the development of this scheme.

A certain amount of confusion and unrest could hardly have been avoided in the course of this extraordinary change. The Hoysaḷa had to meet opposition at Kuppe in the Sāntara country, where there had always been interests closely linked with Tuḷuva or Ālvakhēḍa. A petty ruler of Jaina persuasion, living in the depths of the mountainous recesses between the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ and Ālvakhēḍa, set up a single inscription, now to be seen at Hiriyāṅgadi, in which he appears with several absurdly boastful titles, which include 'Ballāḷa-rāya-citta-camatkārar', the surprier, or delighter, of the heart of King Ballāḷa. Doubtless he had performed some small service for the moribund dynasty.

#### §9. 1336-1342. *The rise of Vijayanagara.*

Meanwhile no progress was made in the South. Māḡavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya seems to have tackled the difficulties there with some energy. Despite Ballāḷa's brief occupation of Kāñci, he had successfully frustrated his hopes of establishing himself further eastwards than Tiruvannāmalai. He seems to have been on good terms with Sambuvaraiyaṅ. From 1336 to 1342 he was active and vigilant, and made the Kāvēri valley and the rest of the old Cōḷa country take the place of Madura, which, as will be seen, had fallen into Muslim hands. Ballāḷa was inclined to leave matters there to take their own course, for he was distracted by a new development on his northern frontier. In the year 1336 the city of Vijayanagara was founded, and a new dynasty stepped into the shoes of Kampila-dēva. The circumstances of this event have been the subject of prolonged investigations and numerous controversies, but the matter may now be held to be settled by the latest views of the most successful searcher in this field, Dr N. Venkataramanayya, whose conclusions are fully supported by a further examination of the Persian sources. The erroneous belief that Ballāḷa himself founded that city, naming it after a son called Vijaya, was based upon a faulty tradition found in the *Cennabasavēśvara-dēvara-sadbhakti-kāla-jñāna* and picked up by Firishtah. That Ballāḷa had a son named Vira-



Vijaya-dēva is by no means impossible, but reliable evidence of his existence is still wanting.

The numerous rebellions against Muḥammad bin Tughluq led to his adopting repressive measures, and that appropriate to the nature and distance of the Kampili kingdom was the despatch thither of two brothers who had once been in Kampila-dēva's household, and had been 'made Muslims'. Circumstances and legendary sources, which need not be discussed here, indicate that these men had originally been connected with the Court of Pratāpa Rudra at Wāraṅgal, and were accordingly better acquainted than most with the political state of the Deccan, and particularly its southern half. These men, the brothers Harihara and Bukka, sons of Saṅgama, were sent southwards to rule the Tuṅgabhadra valley on behalf of the Sultan. When they arrived there they discovered that there were splendid opportunities for rulers of energy, and both they and their brothers and sons took up the task of uniting Karṇāṭaka and eventually the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries under one government, free from the risk of Muslim interference and invasion, and relieved from the wasteful and pernicious habits of inter-State warfare and jealousy. They found that large sections of the Karṇāṭaka people were anxious for the reestablishment of secure rule, and the disorder of the past century had produced fresh problems which the Hoysaḷa, the only ruler geographically qualified, had proved incapable of solving or unwilling to solve. The Kampili kingdom in its widest sense formed the immediate core of this new enterprise, and the brothers struck out westwards, quickly incorporating Belvoḷa, Halasige, Hayve and the coast around Goa and towards Bārakūr. The foundation of Vijayanagara was assisted by the wisdom and support of Vidyāranya-svāmi, who is usually identified with the distinguished jurist Mādhava and was almost certainly the then head of the Śrīṅgeri *maṭha*. He it was who provided the religious background to the enterprises of the apostates from Islam, and their capital was, we are told, at first called not Vijayanagara ('City of Victory'), which name was not appropriate to the city in 1336, but Vidyānagara, the 'City of Wisdom'.

Now this city could never have been founded, nor could the apostasy from Islam have taken place, but for the moral support of Ballāḷa and the representatives of the Kākatiya. It may be

urged that Ballāḷa had been glad to see the end of Kampiḷa, and that therefore he could hardly have wished to see a new power erected in his stead. But it will be remembered that by the year 1336 two developments had taken place since Kampiḷa's time: the hold of the Hoysaḷa on the peninsula was more sure since his Tuḷuva marriage, and he doubtless thought that he could prevent expansion to the south of the Tuṅgabhadra; while it was known to all that the Sultan was actively engaged in prosecuting schemes to subdue all the Hindus of the South to his direct government. For example, Wāraṅgal itself had been for some time in the hands of a Muslim governor, and it was only in 1335-36 that Prōlaya-nāyaka, a scion of the Kākatīya family, had driven him out and asserted Telugu supremacy in the old Teliṅgāṇa kingdom. Harihara and Bukka showed signs of making an excellent buffer. Firish-tah says that Kitnā, Kisnā or Kanā-nāyaka approached Ballāḷa with a view to their joint action against the Muslims, and implies in the course of a rather disjointed and inconsistent account that these two led a coalition of Hindu rulers in the defence of the South. The truth seems to be that a certain Kāpaya-nāyaka, who may well be identical with this Kitnā (Persian calligraphy tends to the gradual corruption of proper names), took over the government of the Kākatīya kingdom from about 1340, but before that date acted as the assistant and heir-apparent of his cousin Prōlaya-nāyaka. It is obvious that the consent of the ruler of Teliṅgāṇa was essential to the expansion of Vijayanagara in its earliest days, as one had hardly left Siruguppe in the direction of Kurnool when one entered the sphere of influence of Prōlaya.

As for the Hoysaḷa, we read that sometime before January 1337 Ballāḷa III made an expedition to the North, and returned after a 'conquest of the quarters'. It is clear that he then had the opportunity of impressing upon Harihara and Bukka the necessity of keeping out the Muslims and their local allies, preventing an attack upon the valuable area between Ādavani (Adoni) and Baḷḷāre (Bellary) from the direction of Wāraṅgal, and lastly of not attempting to filch the Hoysaḷa's own northern villages. If the brothers were interested in this warning, Ballāḷa seems at an early stage to have feared the worst, for a part of his army was stationed at Bārakūr, not so much to maintain order in Tuḷuva as to anticipate an outflanking movement from the direction of Vijayanagara by way of Baṅkāpura and Banavāse. Numerous

disturbances broke out in several quarters, as petty rulers came to know of the extent of the Hoysaḷa's commitments, but by the beginning of 1339, largely through the not unselfish aid of Ballappa-*danṇāyaka*, Ballāḷa was able to recline at Vīra-Vijaya-Virūpākṣapura, probably identical with Virūpākṣa-paṭṭaṇa, and claim to be ruling a peaceful kingdom 'as sole king by his own valour', a significant boast. But if Harihara's expansion in the North gave cause for watchfulness, a serious menace had developed in the South.

Āghā Maḥdī Husain in his work on Muḥammad bin Tughluq has not been able to show when precisely Sayyid Ḥasan Kithilī, or Sayyid Aḥmad Shāh Kaithilī, as he prefers to call him, was sent by the Sultan to Ma'bar. It may have been in 1338 or 1339. This Muslim obtained control of the Pāṇḍya country, where Muslim rule had already been experienced for a short period, though it would be wrong to assume that he controlled a wide area around Madura. He declared his independence of Delhi in 1341-2, according to Sirhindī, the troops sent to suppress the rebellion joined the rebel instead, and thus the Sultanate of Madura was established upon a firmer foundation. With the cooperation of the Muslims who were employed by the Pāṇḍya princes, Aḥmad Shāh found no difficulty in organizing a fairly profitable and secure regime. Māravarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya, who ruled between Tiruvannāmalai and the Madura Sultanate's frontier, seems to have lived on good terms with the Hoysaḷa. The latter found it necessary to be at Tiruvannāmalai in July 1340, and settled there, fascinated by the activities of the Muslims and the fluctuating chances of gaining by their not very energetic conflicts with the Pāṇḍya. The *Aruṇācala-purāṇam*, a much later composition, retails a scandalous story of Ballāḷa's having been sonless and having gone to certain improbable lengths to acquire a son during his stay at Tiruvannāmalai. The seventh canto of that work, called *Vallāḷa-magarācan-carukkam*, 'the chapter on the great King Ballāḷa', gives the impression that the king was well established there, and was renowned for his virtues. As if to disprove the main point of the puerile story there detailed (a rather disgusting example of *niyōga*\* in an age which had long

\* A practice of obtaining offspring by deputy. References to it in the Epics give an authentic antique flavour to Elappa-nāḷaḷar's tale; but of course no civilized subjects of the Hoysaḷa can have submitted to *niyōga*.

rejected that institution), we have evidence that the king actually crowned his son Ballāḷa IV in the city of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai: an inscription of October 1340 states that he had been engaged in 'performing a coronation to the kingdom'. Ballāḷa is believed to have built the third enclosure wall of the temple and its four *gōpurams*, and a yearly ceremony which used to be conducted there in the month Tai (January-February) in the name of Vallāḷa-rāya may well have been instituted in 1341.

Ballāḷa IV's coronation was probably prompted as much by his father's age as by the cumulative anxieties of Madura and Vijayanagara. Ibn Battūṭah tells us that Ballāḷa III was in his eighties; he had been on the throne for 50 years, and he had then reached what was an unusually advanced age. It is remarkable that he was as active physically as our evidence clearly proves. Ballāḷa-rāya, his son, must have been little short of 55 when he was crowned, and the very low ebb of Hoysaḷa affairs during his father's reign may be held to show that even as crown Prince he showed few of the necessary qualities.

While these two Ballāḷas were in their look-out at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, perched at the edge of their dominions, and far from the centre of their hereditary possessions, Harihara of Vijayanagara was preparing to occupy the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ. Possibly as early as 1340 he invaded the modern Nelamangala *tāluka* of the Bangalore district, retiring perhaps soon afterwards, to return four years later. His relationship with Ballāḷa seems to have been comparable to that of a bird of prey towards a dying animal. From October 1341 to June 1342 Ballāḷa III was in Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, and was there again in September. A flying visit to the plateau seems to have been made, but apparently merely to collect resources for an attack upon the Muslims of Madura.

§10. 1342-1346. *The final conflict, in which the dynasty vanishes.*

On the 8th of September 1342 Ballāḷa III fell upon the army of the 'Turukas' and fought at Cīrici-paḷḷi, questionably identified with Tiruchirappalli, the old Uṇaiyūr. As this place is on the south of the Kāvēri the implication, if the identification be reliable, is that Kaṇṇanūr was for the while in Ballāḷa's hands. This,

however, is by no means certain, as we are probably concerned here with skirmishes and fast-moving campaigns. In December Ballāla had left troops in the South and was back in Tiruvannāmalai, having made the 80 miles' journey apparently without ill effect. Two inscriptions of the year 1343 remain bearing Ballāla's titles. One is dated in April, and the other merely with the *nakṣatra* Puṣya, which may have been the previous January. In the course of the first fortnight in May 1342 or 1343, the eighth year of Tribhuvanacakravarti (Māṇavarman) Parākrama Pāṇḍya, Ballāla, who appears in the records merely as the *Kannaḍa dēvar*, or Karpātaka king, made two grants to the god at Kīlayūr, south of the Kāvēri. At some point between the end of May and the middle of August 1343 Ballāla III met his end in circumstances of which we have fortunately a full and apparently trustworthy report.

Ibn Battūṭah, while on his adventurous journey from Delhi to China, called upon a relative of his at Madura, in fact the then Sultan there, and from him heard the story of Ballāla and his death. He claims to have seen part of his remains at Madura. Briefly, it seems that Ballāla had camped near Kubbān, which has been identified with Kaṇṇanūr, with an army of 100,000 Hindus and about 20,000 Muslim mercenaries. He had already put the Sultan's army to flight, and set about the siege of Kaṇṇanūr without fear of surprise from the direction of Madura. After he had invested the place for ten months he proposed to the garrison that they should leave under a safe-conduct, and hand over the town to him. They asked for a truce of 14 days and sought the opinion of the Sultan Ghiyās ud-dīn. The latter soon assembled an army, the greater part of which comprised volunteers who realized that if Kaṇṇanūr were taken Madura itself would be endangered. They made for Ballāla's camp during the noon-day rest, and were mistaken for thieves by Hindus who chanced to be about, no guards being at their posts. A general rout followed, after which large numbers of Ballāla's troops were cut down. The king himself would have been killed but for the fact that the Sultan's nephew was told who he was and took him prisoner. The Sultan treated him with apparent consideration until he had extorted from him his wealth, horses and elephants by promising to release him. When he had relieved him of all his possessions, he slew him and had him skinned; the skin was stuffed with straw

and hung on the wall of Madura. So it came about that the will-o'-the-wisp city of Kappanūr, which had been the monument to an idle fancy of Ballāḷa II, proved fatal to his namesake and descendant. Ballāḷa III's murder was not avenged until about 30 years later, when the famous Kampana-oḍeyar of the Vijayanagara dynasty destroyed the Sultanate of Madura for ever, laying low, as Gaṅgā-dēvi says with a poetic disregard for accuracy, 'the Sultan who had subdued both Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya and had been an axe to the creeper that was the prosperity of Ballāḷa.'

In August 1343 was issued a *śāsana* granting certain dues to farmers in the name of Vīra-Virūpākṣa, son of Vīra-Ballāḷa-dēvarasa, jointly with Ballappa-danṇāyaka on the occasion of the former having obtained the *paṭṭa* or crown, a reference to a ceremony which must have been performed after the news arrived of the old king's death. The powerful Ballappa was in a position not unlike that of a fully-fledged king-maker, and we need not hesitate to believe that he was biding his time, in case he should be better advised to transfer his allegiance to Harihara. The latter had been continually pressing Hoysaḷa subjects to join him, and Ballappa had apparently resisted the temptation for some while. By March 1344 large sections of the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ, especially towards the north, had accepted Vijayanagara rule; on the other hand Ballāḷa IV fought Harihara on his own account, and many of his subjects wished to be independent of both, and fought to attain that object. Numerous ex-Hoysaḷa officers attached themselves to the Vijayanagara family, and as a result resistance was crushed by the middle of 1346. There is an inscription of doubtful date, but most probably of April 1346, which seems to be the last inscription of a Hoysaḷa king. The Immaḍi-rāhutta-rāya of Danṇāyakaṅkōṭṭai below the southern Ghats seems to have remained independent for a while, but he must soon have acquiesced in the collapse of his master's government. Before January 1347 a Kadamba ruler in the Banavāse 12,000 was defeated, and thus the ancient enemies Hoysaḷa and Kadamba were swamped together beneath the rising flood of Vijayanagara power. By 1348 the Ālupa dynasty of Bārakūr had likewise given way.

So ended, after at least four hundred years of activity, the existence of the Hoysaḷa family as a force in the political life of southern India. With the sudden and unremarked disappear-

ance of the last representative of the line, the Hoysaḷa leaves the arena of history as abruptly as he entered it. The line had by its own ambition and ineptitude undermined the structure raised through its earlier achievements, and had rendered a once flourishing and powerful State, comprising many millions of trusting subjects of all classes, a helpless prey for more vigorous and clearer-sighted antagonists. To this dynasty neither the Muslims nor the Hindus of Vijayanagara were as hostile as its own inordinate acquisitiveness.

Their greatness was not entirely forgotten. Their devastated and impoverished country was known as the Hoysaḷa-nāḍ for many centuries, and in the 17th century a petty ruler at Wandiwash claimed descent from their line. The legends of Mysore, as collected in the 19th century, still contained many references to the 'Nine Ballāḷas', while a caste of Mysorean Brahmans to this day call themselves 'Hoysaḷa Brahmans', perhaps on account of their ancestors' having been taken under his protection by a king of that family. The Hoysaḷas were the greatest of those who can claim to be the makers of modern Mysore, and the literature and architecture of their land still bear witness to the bygone splendour of their rule, the shadow of a great name.

## Chapter Seven

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOYSALA COUNTRY

#### §1. *The purpose of this chapter.*

The picture given in the preceding chapters of the work achieved by members of the Hoysala dynasty emphasizes the fact that the material progress of any group of communities in medieval India depended upon their allegiance to a single forceful and satisfactory personality. But one may wonder how in practice such a personality was able to satisfy their mute desires and to turn a confused conglomeration of human beings into a nation. What follows is an attempt in general to answer that question and incidentally to give an account of contemporary Hindu public administration illustrated entirely from sources produced under the Hoysala regime. Numerous works already deal with this topic in general terms; those which deal with Vijayanagara are amongst the most useful for the purpose of filling by inference certain gaps in the details of Hoysala administration and of deciding upon the extent and permanence or otherwise of the contribution in that field made by or under the orders of the Hoysala family. The economic and social aspects of the Hoysala world deserve separate treatment, utilizing not only the inscriptions but also the voluminous literary sources.

Many of the details of Hoysala government are now beyond recovery, but the mass of epigraphic material which is available at the time of writing, and will become available through discoveries in future years, will steadily reveal more and more of the practical methods which were employed in the administration of justice and the revenue, the raising and management of armies, and the award of titles of honour and royal gratuities. The atmosphere in which the king and his ministers worked will become more and more clear, until a point is reached when an authoritative and almost complete account can be given of the Hoysala administration. At present the general view which can be obtained will serve until the extant literary and epigraphical evidence



is supplemented by the discovery of new material, the better understanding of much earlier periods, and the elaboration of the methods observed in action amongst contemporary but either contiguous or geographically remote dynasties. In the field of revenue—the outstanding department of medieval administration—the defect is very plain. We approach the subject of Hoysala revenue-collection like one who arrives at a theatre in time for the last Act, and the technicalities of the subject make it difficult to see the essentials for want of a clear understanding of the details. One fact of importance will, however, be clear to the reader of the last part of this chapter, namely the contrast between the primitive and the developed revenue-system of the Hoysala. As regards the former, imagination supplies the want of records. The early Hoysalas were able to achieve what they did by reason of deserving the passionate loyalty of hill-troops who, having very little to lose, can hardly have set a limit to what they were prepared to sacrifice so that their leader might through them forge a new and vital force in the world of the plain which they respected and envied. The plain-dwellers themselves, who accepted Hoysala rule in those early days, found that the upkeep of their protector's appanage was cheap and well worth while. The last rulers of that family, on the other hand, were hamstrung by the fact that their revenue system made no allowance for emergencies and gave the tax-payer, who was almost invariably the king's tenant, no control over the king's expenditure of the taxes. Their subjects were accustomed to contributing to the revenue of an enormous kingdom whose far-flung frontiers were constantly subject to fluctuation; they were willing to make customary or fixed payments for protection by armies of whose size they probably disapproved, but there was no means of making them contribute for the relief of the royal family itself in times of distress. Years of war and invasions could not be repaired by a succession of royal anniversaries or births of princes—for these were the kind of excuses for which alone subjects could be induced to make payments over and above the *siddhāya* or fixed land-revenue. In other words, while in 1040 the Hoysala's subjects would have done everything in their power to equip his armies to face the Cōla, in 1340, though they were possibly twenty times as numerous, they did not really believe that their royal family was worth a sacrifice. The political events which

illustrate this feeling have been outlined in the foregoing chapters: what follows, containing something of the mechanical, but essential, features of the *process* of government will help to fill out that picture.

## §2. *The king.*

The system of government, as we can observe it in practice, was tyranny modified by expediency, a peculiar kind of constitutional monarchy, attended by circumstances that would make a comparison between medieval India and Tudor England illuminating. The king was the kernel of almost the whole of the matter: not absolutely, for the opinions of the chief landholders could depose him, as we can see from an instance in Rāṣṭrakūṭa history, though their loyalty to him personally might uphold him against their better judgement. As long as the loyalty of a sufficient number held fast the king was secure, and upon him the whole structure of the State depended.

The king was the unifying factor in the State; there could not be more than one ruler, for the emergence of a second split the unit at once into two parts. In the many instances where our records show the king ruling in the company of another person, it is to be understood that the second was a deputy of the king. Whenever this was not in fact the case—it invariably was so in theory—the kingdom was already in an advanced stage of disintegration.<sup>1</sup> The larger the unit the greater the king's power, and hence the greater his chances of being efficient within his geographical scope. Hence the constant urge to conquer, and to conquer lands like Belvoḷa and Banavāse, that is, lands well known to be productive of material wealth.

In the ruler the personal and functional were fused into one entity. Insufficiency as a man, or as a king, equally undermined the security and tranquillity of the subjects. Compare the lives of Nārasimha I and Ballāḷa III. The latter was physically active, though mentally below the extremely high standards required of his office. Hence he held his throne to the last. Compare both of these with Viṣṇuvardhana and Ballāḷa II. These last were all-round men, skilled in their profession, sparing neither themselves nor their families in the performance of their duty.

Those qualities which they possessed to a superlative degree were required of every king, and it would have been treason to suggest the contrary. Physical or mental weakness was not feared for a magical effect, but for the fact that incompetence was never unaccompanied by a corresponding rise on the part of jealous and efficient neighbours; an alteration in the balance of power always meant untold suffering for the landholders, cultivators and merchants, whose homes and livelihoods were affected. Physical strength, pre-eminent prowess, continual extension of dominion over the earth, a victorious reign to endure as long as sun, moon and stars, all these are the essential attributes of the sovereign. He 'rules the Earth in the enjoyment of pleasant communications' with his subordinates; or the conventional phrase may be translated 'in the enjoyment of peace and harmony'. No hyperbole is too extravagant, and even in his darkest days he is supposed to be ruling from 'Hima to Sētu'—the full length of the sub-continent! The personality of the king, again, governed the success with which he controlled his ministers and lesser subordinates. More will be said below of the classes of functionaries whom he employed, but it is evident from the history of the Hoysala kings until the reign of Ballāla IV that personal contact and considerations of loyalty and service weighed more heavily with all of them than any other factor.

The joint family to which the king, like his subjects, belonged had the *rājya*, or kingdom, as a joint-family asset, in which all male members of the undivided family took a right by birth. An uncle might dispute the right of his nephew to succeed to the managership, which kingship was from the point of view of the family, or a cousin the right of his cousin, as happened when Viṣṇuvardhana died; a son, like Ballāla II, could dispute his father's right to waste ancestral assets without his being obliged to partition or sever his status of jointness with the latter. Rival claimants were ever to be feared, and their claims could not always be silenced by the offer of a lucrative post or the grant of lands for their maintenance. Hence the frequency of the title 'forest-fire to the *dāyādas*'. Accordingly, since birth conveyed unity of interest, and since marriage made his wives almost completely dependent upon him, the king's chief and most reliable ministers were his sons and his queens. Ballāla II was an expert in the art of utilizing their natural and unquestioning

zeal for the dynasty's good; Ballāḷa III, on the other hand, lived at a more sophisticated period when a business ability was less recognized in queens, and his failure to make them a feature of his administrative hierarchy was a contributive cause of his downfall. Instead he elevated sons-in-law and brothers-in-law to high positions in the Empire, thus exposing himself to multiple anxieties. Moreover the vitiated taste of the times was tired of the string of titles which in Ballāḷa II's day had satisfied an experienced civil and military servant of the king, and demanded that he should elevate even to the rank of *Kumāra*, that is 'son' or 'prince', officers whose landed influence ought not to be ignored. One of the great arts in which the early kings had excelled was that of preventing jealousy between ministers, of employing many on different tasks, providing for their families, never patronizing one faith above the others, never allowing one minister to profit at the expense of his colleagues. But by the time of Nārasimha III the situation had got out of hand, and in the next reign we see the stage preparatory to that which flourished in the Vijayanagara empire. A minister gained favour by being efficient in carrying out the orders of his master, or by giving him sound advice as to the best method of achieving a particular end. As a reward for his services he was given a tract of land. After a while he found that subjects looked to him for favours, as the man who had the king's ear, and it was a short step to a position where he obliged many of them to form attachments according to his interest rather than that of the king, and finally to form alliances with him against the king and those who were loyal to him. In the final stage he ousted the king from power, keeping him as a puppet in a condition of specious luxury, but without practical influence. Rāma-rāja was an outstanding example of this type of minister, and, if we neglect Nepal in recent times, the Pēshwās of Poona were its last important exponents. In the time of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya the art of choosing ministers, and watching them against their assuming too much power, had become so complicated that a section of his Telugu work, the *Amuktamālyada*, was devoted to an exhaustive discussion of the topic. But the Hoysaḷas knew little or nothing of this menace: until the second quarter of the 14th century ministers hardly dreamed of misconduct of that nature.

§3. *Duṣṭa-nigraha-śiṣṭa-pratipālanam*: (i) *Criminal justice and leadership in war.*

A king's duty, as summed up in the phrase which occurs constantly in inscriptions, was twofold: *to restrain the evil and to protect the good*. All the commands addressed to the king by the *dharmaśāstra* as laid down in the *smṛtis* or in the *Mahābhārata* were summarized in that phrase. One would not be wrong to notice that the repressive function is mentioned first. We shall see how in fact the Hoysāṣas carried out these responsibilities.

The function of keeping 'law and order' was never perfectly performed. All classes produced too many exuberant characters whose notion of morality was too flexible and whose opportunities for crime were too many and too attractive. There was, however, a close connexion between the number of outrages against public order and the health of the government. If the latter was strong and well-integrated these were few; if the administration was sickly and ineffective foot-pads, highwaymen, housebreakers and dacoits flourished. This fact, to which reference has been made in earlier chapters, is amply established by a statistical examination of the crimes reported in inscriptions that were erected to commemorate the deaths involved. These records, of course, cannot have dealt with more than a fraction of the crimes committed, nor in fact was the proportion steady throughout the Hoysāṣa period, for the beginning and the end of it were equally oppressed by poverty, and poor people could not afford to have inscriptions engraved and set up. However, when due allowances have been made, the records surviving are a satisfactory barometer for this purpose. In fact the conclusions are as satisfactory as those which we draw from the almost invariable correspondence between the number of rebellions, insurrections and enemy invasions, and the size of the Hoysāṣa army employed on the opposite frontier. In order of numerical importance the periods during which robberies, murders, cow-raids, attacks on villages, battles between Hoysāṣa subjects, boundary fights, rapes, and so on, occurred come as follows: the worst was 1181-99, the period following the deposition of Nārasiṃha I; next, though some distance behind, comes 1161-80 about equal with 1221-40 (when Hoysāṣa strength was staked upon the Kaṇṇanūr venture); next comes 1281-1300;

then 1141-60; the other periods of Hoysala rule showing a comparatively negligible number of cases.

Criminal justice was administered by the king in person, or the king's deputy in charge of a district. Fines were a regular part of the royal income, could be anticipated (1), and were assignable in the same way as the land-revenue. Self-help was a recognized feature of the law, and revenge was not looked upon with disfavour by the king. Men generally went on journeys armed, and people of importance hired armed escorts. Robbers were slaughtered without mercy. Their communities were often landed proprietors, as powerful at times as the artisan or merchant castes themselves, so that from time to time war was waged between the king's comparatively law-abiding subjects and not only the Bēḍar\* but also the thieves in their strongholds. Slander of the royal family was apt to be visited by harsh punishment, but we have one case where the royal complainant was able to commute the sentence while in the course of execution. On the other hand, where the punishing of disobedience to the king's order, for example, would require the sending of a detachment of soldiers, the king considered that if his wishes were brought about by some other means there was no necessity to prolong the matter: in one case certain *gauḍas* objected to their holdings being converted into an *agrahāra*, and a fight developed in which the *agrahāra* Brahmans were defended successfully by their servants and friends. These or their surviving relatives were liberally rewarded by the Brahmans, but there is no hint that the disobedient *gauḍas* received any further punishment. Landholders were expected to provide for the defence of their holdings against robbers and dacoits, but they were not expected to quarter, feed or otherwise support, except within strict conventional limits, the imperial armies when they moved to defend those lands from the invasion of hostile kings. If the Hoysala damaged land by camping on it, he was prepared to pay the holder compensation.

So much for the internal aspect of 'rooting out thorns', which was one of the ways of performing *duṣṭa-nigraha*. In its external aspect, that is to say, the duty of keeping the boundaries free from invasion, and extending the frontiers so as to conquer

\* See above, pp. 9 and 141.

land misgoverned by a neighbouring dynasty, the king was the commander-in-chief. He did not need to pretend that he attacked his neighbour and stole his villages in self-defence; he claimed to be doing this for the good of those villages and their inhabitants. In the case of Kāṇṇanūr we should not be fathering upon the king too subtle an idea by suggesting that he expected to derive from the Tamil districts resources which would help to defeat the northern enemies and so bring greater prosperity to the whole empire, the far South included. The king had the sole charge of the army, and had in his gift all commands in it. The appearance of his soldiers and commanders in battle, together with their vehicles and weapons, can be seen depicted in the reliefs on the external walls of the Hoysalēśvara temple at Dōrasamudra (Halebid) and of the great temple at Sōmanāthapura; the atmosphere and pomp of battle in those times can be gathered not only from the multitude of inscriptions which mention either individual battles or the prowess of the king or his ancestors, but also literary works such as the *Sūktisudhāṇava*. The military history of the Hoysala period has yet to be written. It was usual to appoint generals, often Brahmans who had had experience of civil administration, and these had separate commissions for each campaign, their civilian ranks being necessary for their constant liaison with the officials through whose districts the army had to pass. The king could remove them from their commands, and there are numerous cases known to us of the threatened and actual dismissal of officials of both high and low degrees. The king could deal in this way with his officers because he had two great superiorities over them until the time when, during and after the reign of Sōmēśvara, mercenaries were commonly employed. In the first place the king led his troops in battle, and if he did not enter the breaches before his men he never failed to be present at crucial campaigns, and to watch the performance of his troops. He was personally present at many a critical battle, and many stormings of forts; he encouraged the dying warrior with a pat on the shoulder, and rewarded the valiant with gifts of land and posts in his household. After a victory badges of honour and titles were distributed at a state function. This element in his work raised him above the general run of governors; he was the sole fountain of honour. The great-grandchildren of a warrior boasted of the day when

Viṣṇuvardhana gave the ceremonial betel-leaf to their ancestor and dismissed him to execute a suicidal but essential mission. Where the king led, his hereditary followers would accompany him without question, and these in the early days of the dynasty were the tough offspring of hill-races, invincible in battle. The thirteenth century saw the development of a looser military machine, the chief motive power behind which was gold. However, for the encouragement of patriotic valour, the State had a system of providing for the widows and children of soldiers who died in battle, or persons who sacrificed their lives voluntarily for the public good, and rent-free grants of land were made to dependents.

#### §4. *Duṣṭa-nigraha-śiṣṭa-pratipālanam*: (ii) *Civil justice.*

In *protecting the good* the king had more to do than merely to secure the frontier and punish thieves. Civil justice was a complicated science of which the king or his deputies were the highest executive officers; their functions came into play if litigants could not be induced to compromise or refused to accept the decision of a local customary tribunal. The details of the Law were contained within the memory and learning of the Brahman community, which boasted a number of men who had devoted their lives to the study of abstract law and the collection and systemization of local customs. We hear nothing in the inscriptions of the *sabhā* or Court of Brahmans and assessors which, in accordance with the *smṛtis*, must have assisted the king or his *dharmādhikāri* (Minister for Justice), because our records are concerned merely with the decision and its practical effects. They may go so far as to mention that the victorious party successfully underwent an ordeal, but their intention was simply to foreclose disputes during or subsequent to the execution of the decree. We have, however, numerous references to disputes and their settlement, and thus are able to see something of the judicial practice of the time. It is evident that the plaintiff had to bear the entire burden of getting a hearing in the court which was appropriate, but that the king was accessible both when in his capital and when on campaign. The king himself was the final Court of Appeal, and therefore the wider his dominions the



greater the tendency for the broad principles of the Law he administered to become assimilated into a homogeneous system; nevertheless numerous caste and even family customs were permitted to conflict with the orthodox Brahmanical *dharmaśāstra*, and we have ample evidence that, for example, *Mitākṣarā* views on inheritance and partition were by no means universally accepted by all castes during our period, though they had great weight, of course, with jurists. If the king agreed to the request of a caste or community to ratify a statute that had been passed by the caste assembly, that statute had thenceforth the force of law, and became binding on the members of the body concerned in the area affected, until a further petition resulted in further legislation.

The actual decision of disputes fell in a very large number of cases to arbitrators appointed by the king or his deputy; to the king's representative in the district; to a caste assembly; to a joint assembly of caste dignitaries, *paṇḍits*, heads of orders and merchant princes; to a gathering of land-holders; or finally to members of the family if the dispute were within the family. There was an ascending scale of appeals theoretically possible from one Court to the next, and the *śāstra* provided means of preventing abuse of this facility. There cannot, however, be much doubt that influence and corruption endangered the equal doing of justice to all the king's subjects, and this is illustrated by the history of a case of the 13th century in joint-family law which involved a minister, where the case went to the king at an early stage as the Court of original jurisdiction could not deal with the matter to the satisfaction of the plaintiffs.

#### §5. *Land-registry and escheat.*

There is evidence supporting the conclusion that a central land-registry existed, in which transfers of land, excluding mortgages, were registered after the executive had sanctioned the terms and consideration. This must have been of the greatest value in boundary and inheritance disputes, which were very common, and it must have cut down to a minimum the necessity to rely on ordeals in the absence of relevant and admissible evidence. In inheritance cases the law, as already mentioned, was mixed:

towards Coorg the inheritance of widows, daughters, and sons and daughters of female slaves, without limitation on the estate taken, was recognized without question. In the central Hoysaḥa-nāḍ not all castes allowed widows to inherit, though the modern 'widow's limited estate' appears to have been unknown. In the east brothers, even if separated from the joint family of the propositus, took precedence in inheritance over widows, daughters and parents; in merchant castes women seem to have been excluded from inheritance, and the only problem was to prevent the property of sonless (including grandson-less) men from falling into the king's hands as *bona vacantia*. The right of the king to take by escheat the property of people dying without recognized heirs was asserted frequently, and assigned in the same way as the land revenue. The king himself is known to have settled disputes over the ownership of real property apart from inheritance, and over the boundaries between districts—an important matter where the incidence of customs dues and district-rates was involved.

§6. *Patronage in civil and religious contexts.*

The king had complex duties in the purely administrative field, and was obliged to keep his hands upon many diverse threads of affairs. He had at his disposal large areas of land which had not already been awarded to public servants, formed into *agrahāras* or bestowed upon temples, and he had in his gift offices from that of *gauḍa*, which was originally that of village-headman and chief tenant of the king in a newly founded village but which had become an hereditary office of distinction rather than profit, or even that of village-watchman, right up to that which entitled its holder to the title *Kumāra*. In practice his rights were often delegated to subordinate rulers and local permanent bodies who might be expected to have a better knowledge of a candidate's qualifications. In religious appointments the king had similar discretion, and not only presented candidates for the temple-priesthood, which was considered as a lucrative type of agency, but exercised controlling influence on the management of individual temples.

§7. *The king's expenditure.*

Apart from the normal land-revenue, to which we shall return, a revenue flowed into the treasury from the king's private lands; from buried treasure; from the gold, jewel and iron mines; from fines and escheat of inheritances; from customs and excise dues. For the receipt and managing of the whole a large number of officials was needed. From the wealth at his disposal he was obliged to arrange for the upkeep of the palace, the queens and their respective households, and for the equipment of the princes and their establishments; the army required horses and elephants, both very expensive items. With what remained gifts were made to ambassadors, foreign monarchs, foreign temples, and other persons who could not, as was usual with native ministers, be paid by grants of assignments of the whole or a part of the revenue of their district. Within the latter category came usually the mercenary troops whom the king was obliged to employ during the last century of Hoysaṣa power. Whatever remained after these expenditures had been met was available for savings, for the building of temples, tanks, and forts, palaces and city-walls; for the encouragement of the arts, and in particular the patronage of poets and scholars of international repute who came from time to time to Dōrasamudra and Kaṇṇanūr. Land was granted for the upkeep of temples, their repair, the maintenance of services in them, the feeding of Brahmans and the education of boys; land was turned into *agrahāras* so that native and foreign Brahmans were supported in order that they might foster learning and prove to be a nursery for the civil service. This last method of alienating the public resources turned out to be exceedingly expensive: no less than 104 *agrahāras* are mentioned in Hoysaṣa inscriptions, and the total loss to the State cannot have been less than 100,000 *gadyāṇas* a year; but the wealth of religious foundations cannot be estimated from this alone, since, for every *gadyāṇa* given away by the king, members of the public gave at least two in private donations. The king made grants to temples of all three denominations, *śaiva*, *vaiṣṇava* and *jaina*, without noticeably discriminating against any, though in point of amount they profited in that order.

The advantages of investing public money in the construction or repair of tanks were apparent, and there is no necessity to

dilate on the details of the rent-free grants that were made to encourage these activities, but the process of creating *paṭṭaṇas* involved a temporary loss to the treasury and deserves special mention. *Ūrs* and their hamlets (*kāluvaṭṭis*) formed the large majority of the inhabited places in the country; *paṭṭaṇas* formed the market-towns that took their produce and provided foreign wares for the inhabitants of the districts (what we now call the Mufassil). These *paṭṭaṇas* were the resort of the *Nānā-dēśis* and other merchant guilds, and had their charters, mayors (*Paṭṭaṇa-svāmis*), market-masters and regulations; they raised a house tax, and a valuable revenue from sales within the town-limits. Some *paṭṭaṇas* held the proud title *rāja-dhāni-paṭṭaṇa*, or capital city, because a royal palace was or had formerly existed there. These towns were valuable assets, and expanding areas needed more and more of them: accordingly the king and local governors sanctioned the creation of such places, varied taxation so as to encourage merchants and artisans to settle there, and granted the charter instituting the fair or regular market, which could not be held without it. The result was eventually very satisfactory to all parties interested.

### §8. *Governors and officials.*

#### (i) *The highest grades.*

The details of administration, though in theory and often in practice always within the king's own scope, were usually consigned to a hierarchy which commenced with the queens and ended with the *gaudas*. The position of the Yuvarāja, or heir apparent, legally co-proprietor with his father in the kingdom, was anomalous. He often acted as a district governor, and in that respect was not superior to a great *daṇḍāyaka*, or a queen. It formed an important part of his training for kingship that he should experience such responsibility. But he frequently acted, as did Prince Ballāja, the son of Viṣṇuvardhana, as second-in-command and his father's principal deputy, and as such cannot be compared to any other official. The queens, until the last reigns, not only exercised administrative authority, each with her own ministers and stewards under her, but on occasion conducted military campaigns of a not too exacting nature. But these were the 'crowned queens', who were divided into senior and junior

classes; uncrowned queens do not appear to have exercised any responsibilities of this kind, nor did the concubines. The *maṇḍalēśvaras* were subject-princes who had once been independent, or whose ancestors had once been tenants-in-chief under the Cālukya or Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor. These were in point of dignity practically equal to the queens. Slightly below them came the *maṇḍalikas*, who were generally petty rulers who had risen in the world through the conflicts of their superiors, or the descendants of such, and finally *sāmantas*, who had been frontier chiefs in times past, but in many cases ruled hereditary lands far behind the frontier, which had advanced in the interval. In the Tāmilian districts in the east the rulers were called *nāḍ-āḷvas*, with the name of their *nāḍ* or district prefixed. These rulers were persons of dignity, whose families had in most cases been rooted in the areas in question since at least the Cōḷa conquest of 1004, which was a much more thorough affair than the Karṇāṭaka reconquest of 1117-30. The government at Dōrasamudra, however, had under its direct control men who were given a *nāḍ* or a number of villages to superintend from time to time or for a number of years at a stretch. These posts were held during good behaviour, but in some cases became hereditary—a feature characteristically Indian.

Such officials fell into three main classes. The highest were the *daṇḍanāyakas*, or general officers, either actually colonels in the army, or competent by birth or education to be commissioned as such, and capable of taking equivalent rank in the civil service. The second were *mahā-pradhānas* (the prefix *mahā* here has no significance) or civilians whom the king had thought worthy of his counsels. We shall return to them again. The last and lowest were called merely *nāyakas*, captains of foot or horse.

(ii) *In the districts.*

The *daṇḍanāyaka*, or *daṇṇāyaka*, was the typical Hoysaḷa government official of the highest grade. An example in every way characteristic is that of Harihara-*daṇṇāyaka*, who ruled the Āsandi district\* from 1216 to 1238. He governed the territory of hostile rulers when under Hoysaḷa occupation; he marched

\* On this *nāḍ* see above, pp. 13, 26-7, 34.

against thieves and rebels with his garrison; he defended the chief town in his district against the enemy's attack. To help him in the administration he had several officials who were directly responsible to him and others who were responsible only to the capital, but whose work it was his duty to assist. He had an adviser, called *mahā-pradhāna*, after the fashion of the royal ministers; a treasurer, the *bhaṇḍāri*; a secretary, the *sēnabōva*; several factotums known as *pergaḍes* or *heggaḍes*, who were either on his establishment or were seconded from Dōrasamudra as occasion demanded; a number of constables and body-guards called *puruṣa* and *bal-manuṣya* respectively; and finally a troop of horse under a chief *sāhaṇi* and perhaps a few elephants under a chief *māvanta*. The treasury officials of the *nāḍ* were in direct contact with the treasury at the capital and held a rank corresponding to ministers; their accounts were no doubt very complex, as the settlements show, and their clerks had to have a full knowledge of the land-revenue and customs and excise arrangements in all their involved details lest taxes should be levied on *sarvamānya*, or tax-free lands, or taxable land should escape assessment. Their offices were in the chief town of the *nāḍ*, while they were in close contact with the tax-collectors in the market-towns and at the customs posts in the outlying parts of the *nāḍ*. There property, production and purchase taxes were assessed and collected, and from the material at present available it is evident that a vast amount of clerical work was needed to record all the grants of relief from individual taxes and to keep abreast of the alterations in tax-policy decided upon in the capital.

To return to the powers with whom the *daṇṇāyaka* had to deal: the representatives of the old ruling families in the *nāḍ* had to be kept in a good humour, as the influence they wielded was out of proportion to their constitutional rights; the merchant princes, if any, were a power to be reckoned with, and the heads of *maṭhas* and mendicant orders enjoyed a huge following, as did the chief *ācāryas* of castes and guilds; the committees of management of the greater temples would also be persons of standing and influence and their interests could not be neglected with impunity. In the territory to the north of the Tuṅgabhadra the villages, being fewer and larger, had an organization of their own under *ūr-oḍeyar*; south of that river that arrangement was rare,

but some villages had ruling committees and clerks of their own, raising their own revenue for the payment of artisans and watchmen, and so on. Regular bodies constituting the representative body of landholders met at intervals, and went under the name of the 60, the 300 or the 1,000, and so on, according to the size of the locality involved. These bodies appointed *nāḍ-prabhus*, or under-sheriffs, who acted, on an equal footing with *paṭṭana-svāmis* and other dignitaries such as the monthly managers of *agrahāras*, under the general superintendence of the *nāḍ-heggaḍe*, or sheriff, appointed and paid by government. His pay came from a fixed tax in great part,\* and it seems that he was intended to be a check on the *daṇṇāyaka* himself, and a source of information for the *vicāris* and *rājyādhyakṣis*, or inspectors, who were certainly appointed by the central government to keep a control over the conduct of the *daṇṇāyaka*, especially in the field of revenue. This was by no means unnecessary, for the king's appointment to the districts seems occasionally to have been abused.

If the king was wise he did not appoint to the post of district governor a man who had too much initiative. He had indeed numerous judicial and administrative functions with which the king did not require to be bothered, but it is clear that the king needed to be kept informed of the personal history of all his chief servants, and to be consulted on all proposed changes in the revenue assessments, and in the weight of untaxed interests in the districts from time to time. It was dangerous to allow too much self-determination to a group of subjects: indeed it was the conventional duty of the king, according to the *dharmaśāstra*, that he should keep every caste and every order in its place, each to its appropriate task. This duty did not, in Hoysāḷa times, become an excuse for mere tyranny and indeed the words of the texts seem to have been given a very liberal interpretation, but on matters of expediency the Hoysāḷa did not allow too much freedom of decision to district governors. For example, we hear of the king being informed by a *daṇṇāyaka* of the distress caused to weavers by the oppression of tax-collectors, and of their emigration, and the consequent reduction by the king of that tax to 8 *kāsu* per loom. This was an incident in the Kāvēri valley

\* See below, p. 202.

under Rāmanātha. All proposals that involved a direct loss to the State, as distinguished from a loss to the tax-collectors whose duty was roughly speaking *farmed out* to them, were liable to be referred to the capital or the king's temporary camp for sanction and registration. The words *Śrī-Malaparoḥ gaṇḍa* or *Śrī-Ballāḷa-dēvarya* or *Śrī-Nārasimha-dēvarya* and so on, being the king's sign-manual, appear on a very large number of records, just as the dynasty's seal or the monarch's personal seal appears on the ring that binds the copper-plate deeds authorized by the treasury.

(iii) *At the centre.*

It remains to describe the constitution of the central government itself, as far as it is known, and to explain the revenue-system by means of which it was supported.

The king sought advice, when he required it, from his ministers, and these again carried out his orders. He chose them, unless he inherited them from his father, and dismissed them at his pleasure. He was not bound by their advice, though they were bound by the lines of policy which he decided upon, unless they chose to retire from the capital and his service. The whole body were termed *mahā-pradhānas*, and had by the 13th century grown so large that it is quite certain that the advice of all of them was never used at any one time. They must have formed a kind of privy council from which a cabinet of select persons conducted the general affairs of the kingdom. The specially favoured were those who had completed a regular *curtus honorum*, by which they received in their career the titles of *daṇḍāyaka*, *sarvādhikāri*, or officer with a commission in every department, *mahāpasāyita*, or principal master of the robes, and *parama-viśvāsi*, or particular confidant. The desire for titles grew as time went on, and the ingenuity of the king was nearly exhausted. Nārasimha II created many *rāya-daṇḍanāthas*, or 'royal colonels' and his descendants, as has already been noticed, bestowed the title *Kumāra* with ever increasing frequency. Occasionally we find the title *bāhattara-niyōgādhipati*, 'master of 72 (i.e. a great many) officials or offices', which was a favourite among subordinates of the old emperors of Kuntala; after the achievement of imperial status many Hoysala ministers sported it. Of the 50 and odd *daṇḍāyakas* that are known to have held civil or military posts



during the reign of Ballāla II, perhaps 20 were employed chiefly in the military department; the eminent among them were entitled to be called *sēnādhipati*, or marshal, or *samasta-sēnādhipati*, commander-in-chief, or rather, aide-de-camp of the king. No definite gradation of rank is to be seen. Generally relatives were commissioned together in order to minimize friction, as was done when the Cōḷa was rescued for the second time at Sēndamaṅgalam. Military rank and relative seniority therefore came seldom into account, though to have been a commander of a force during a previous reign was a distinction upon which the holder seldom kept silence. The old Kannāḍa terms *paḍevaḷa* and *hiriya-haḍevaḷa*, or chief general, fell out of use during the first years of Ballāla II.

Among civilians there were the legal and religious advisers whom we may pass over, as our information about them is derived largely from the textbooks on government such as the *Mānasollāsa*. From inscriptions we hear more of the foreign affairs and treasury departments. The officers in the former held the rank *sandhi-vigrahi*,\* or minister whose duty it was to contract alliances, superintend relations with foreign powers, prevent insults to foreign princes, control negotiations with ambassadors (a duty which the king often preferred to keep within his own hands) and to decide on the moment and the suitable grounds for breaking treaties, changing alliances, and making war. The latter were known as *śrī-karaṇas*, or *śrī-karaṇa-heggaḍes*, principal accountants. The treasury had a number of other officials who looked after the jewel treasury, and inspected the work of the accountants and other treasurers. The commander of the life-guard and the palace superintendent were household officers, who gradually rose in public importance; even apparently menial functionaries of the royal household eventually achieved a station of respect: a feature characteristic of Indian medieval Courts and, it seems, found elsewhere among the Indo-European races.† The king enjoyed the pledged loyalty of several hereditary henchmen, of whom mention has already been made, whose ancestors had promised to accompany the ruler for the time being into the next

\* For their duties in connexion with *śāsanas* see below, p. 212.

† It will be remembered that the founder of the house of Gwalior was proud to call himself the Pēshwā's 'slipper-bearer'. Similar phenomena are observed among the ministers of the Hittite kings: Gurney, op. cit., p. 67.

world in return for a *fief* rent-free in this. One family preserved an unbroken record of suicides from the reign of Eṛeyaṅga to that of Nārasimha III.

### §9. *The revenue.*

(i) *Land-revenue.* *The king as the only full owner of land.*

Of the revenue a few general notions have already been sketched. It remains to see how the king managed to pay for his royal state, his army, and his cultural commitments.

If anyone could be said to own the soil, it was the king in his capacity as manager of the royal joint family. He was the *bhū-bhuja*, the one who embraced and supported, in the eyes of the poet and sculptor, the Earth upon his arm. His were the lands, and their income was his by right.<sup>2</sup> It was the conception that the king was the only owner that made all his subjects his tenants, a notion which expressed itself in numerous ways and had very many advantages from the standpoint of efficiency of government. It was, unfortunately, a theory which could not be enforced unless the people collectively were willing to recognize the king *as* king or emperor. The ousting of a dynasty did not turn the tenants into free-holders, curious as this may seem, but, by reason of the suspended tenure being, in anticipation, always capable of revival under the new monarch, the usurper carried on where the ousted king ceased; the only exception to this rule being the usurper himself, who from tenant became king, and so the only *owner* in any sense absolute.

The king took land either by conquest or as *dāya* (which broadly speaking corresponds to the *inheritance* known to civil and common lawyers). That which he took as conquest he either gave to his followers or to temples in that area or elsewhere, or confirmed as the tenancy of the existing landholders, whose titles were derived ultimately from the grants of previous monarchs, or from immemorial possession. The land which he inherited from his ancestors the king held by right of birth, and he was the heir to all the benefits attached to the conditions of tenure. The tenants-in-chief, such as the descendants of ancient ruling families, had their tenants under them, so that there existed a chain of dependence and responsibility for the

revenue, each man obliged for his maintenance to the forbearance of his immediate feudal superior, who had a customary right to forfeit the tenure if the subordinate committed acts of disloyalty. But the king knew that obedience had a foundation in satisfaction, and therefore long before Hoysala times it had become the practice to regard grants of land as perpetual leases subject to good behaviour, while grants to gods and *maṭhas* were perpetual leases without conditions except that of paying to the crown a specified proportion, if any, of the net revenue. Grants to Brahmans and to communities of Vira-śaivas were grants of an exactly similar description and the recipients as such were, as a corporation, theoretically incapable of bad behaviour and therefore their grants were not defeasible, except by a conqueror who disregarded the appeal of the original donor to respect a religious *dharma-dāya* grant. Nevertheless the grantee was not absolute owner, and the king had the right to stipulate for a revenue, however small, and to add taxes to the amount stipulated for in times of emergency. The main source of income was the productivity of the soil, and when the king held land under his own direct management the net produce went into his privy purse; when it was granted to a minister for his use and enjoyment with the rights of sale, mortgage, gift and so on, then the king received from that grantee a proportion of the produce, unless he granted it rent-free. In the first case the revenue was fixed, and the grantee kept what remained after it had been paid; in the second he kept the entire net produce, and paid nothing to the treasury unless an order was promulgated that rent-free land should be taxed in aid of some new enterprise. Naturally such proceedings were rare, and we can tell from the records that there was a very great weight of prejudice and resistance against the imposition of new taxes or the revision of old ones. But as the government expenditure increased and the grants of rent-free, or partially free, land accumulated, it was necessary to break in upon the theory of permanent settlement, which was the basis of the revenue system, and add an extra tax to the total. After a while the number of items in the tax roll became unwieldy, and old ones became out-of-date, and the result was a consolidation of the old taxes under one head, which was given a new name, and then the process started all over again. In Hoysala times the revenue-system was very complicated, for

it had been inherited first from the Gaṅgas, and many of the items themselves were old when the Gaṅgas began to rule. Several of them are now almost past understanding, being abbreviations of what had once been an intelligible demand for a specific purpose. Most of our evidence on the government revenue-demands is of the 13th century, and consists principally of five separate detailed revenue assessments, which were intended to be permanent, and were put up on stone memorials with the object of preventing future disputes or the accidental reassessing of the land in question along with land not forming the object of grants which was open to reassessment periodically.\* If the land in question were sold or mortgaged, the alienee would be obliged to pay the revenue demand as laid down, and the latter became in fact a charge on the land. Now these inscriptions are of the greatest value for the purpose of answering one interesting question: how was land taxed, and upon what principles were taxes levied on it? But the second question which occurs frequently to the minds of students of the history of Muslim and British India, namely, how great a proportion of the gross produce was taken by the State, is much more difficult to answer and cannot in fact be answered from these assessments alone. There is no doubt that eventually the answer to the second question will be found, for there are abundant details available as to the price of land, the income that was derived from particular plots, and the taxes that were levied from various estates. But much work remains to be done, to coordinate this information and to bring together data which at present defy categorization. For example, land was measured (to mention a single kind of unit) in *kambas*, and there were in existence at the same time in different places scores of *kambas* of different lengths. The reason for this was that, apart from the tendency for each sub-district to have its own favourite measure, one of the orthodox methods of tax-adjustment was not to lower the tax (for that would have endangered local attachment to the conventions of revenue-payment) but to lengthen or, more frequently, to shorten the pole, so that indescribable confusion and complexity resulted, which only prolonged and detailed research will resolve. An example of the method which will be fruitful is to be found in E.C.xii

\* On the restricted scope of the reassessments see below, p. 200.

Chiknayakanhalli 2, a record of 1261. Gōpāla divided land given to him by Nārasimha III into 47 shares. Of these, 8 shares produced 151 *gadyāṇas*.\* As shares were almost always equally divided, we may guess that the whole estate produced 887 *gad.* 4 *paṇas* and 1 *hāga*. The total *siddhāya* or permanent revenue being 41 *gad.* 5 *paṇas*, the State's share was little more than a 22nd part of the total, which may or may not have been the *gross* total. It may be that in this case a reduced rate was used, and indeed the reference in the inscription to the 'rate obtaining as the forced levy of Huliyeṛu-nāḍ' confirms that impression. In E.C. v Hassan 84 (c. 1223) we are told that of two villages forming a grant village A produced 39 *gad.* 8 *paṇas* and was assessed at 6 *gad.*, while village B produced 26 *gad.* 5 *paṇas* and was assessed at 4 *gad.* This gives us a *siddhāya* of rather more than one 7th of the produce. This proportion is very probably more representative than the Huliyeṛu-nāḍ example. But, as we shall see, this proportion did not form the sum total of the revenue which might be demanded in respect of that land and its inhabitants, and even otherwise the significance is vitiated by the fact that it was a demand from *brahmadēya* land, that is, land granted for the benefit of Brahmans, and so almost certainly taxed at a reduced rate even for lands in the Hoysalanāḍ.

(ii) *Specimen revenue-rolls.*

The records upon which our knowledge of the revenue administration must be based have certain features in common and certain differences. Two of them have a number of amounts in common, but, whether because of a gap in the original account or through the carelessness of the scribe or sculptor, certain items in the second are entirely omitted in the first. Here we reach a difficulty which besets work in the field of ancient Indian revenue. That the terms were antique even then cannot be doubted; that they were unintelligible to the scribes who copied the inscriptions and the editors who printed them in the 19th century was inevitable. Gross corruptions have occurred in the texts on account of the fact that those who dealt with the epigraphs had no notion of their meaning. In most cases, however,

\* The gold *gadyāṇa* (*niṣka*) contained 10 *paṇas*, each of 4 *hāgas*.

running balances have enabled mis-read figures to be corrected, but this has gone only a small way to restoring the picture.

For ease of accounting the items were listed in separate classes, and though the order within the classes might vary slightly the items were generally kept to their class. The following is a specimen revenue-settlement of an estate, without the amounts against items but with clear or (where doubtful) suggested meanings and a note of the method of adjustment.

### 1st Group

kuḷa or modalu: basic assessment to which all other items were added.

vaṭṭam: commission for the services of a banker;  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the kuḷa.

sādam: (?) discount for worn coins, or for transfer of payment. No fixed relationship to kuḷa.

paṇa 2 sēse: 'two-paṇa contribution'. Mentioned but not charged 1190-1237; obsolete 1250.

### 2nd Group

vallaha: tax originally levied for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor ('Vallabha') by his *mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*. Bore a fixed proportion to the total estimated produce, on which the kuḷa itself was assessed.

kumāra: tax for the benefit of the Crown Prince, whether one existed or not. Assessed on a sliding scale, proportionate to the productivity of the land.

nibandha: tax for fund for payment of royalties and pensions granted by the king. Assessed similarly to kumāra.

### 3rd Group

śrī-karaṇa: tax for the support of the *nāḍ* treasury staff. Fixed proportion to the kuḷa, doubtless in order to reduce chances of corruption.

suṅka: commutation for tolls. Individually assessed at each settlement. Paid to the *heggaḍes* of the various classes of suṅka (= Skt. śulka), while they kept any balance above this for themselves.

pannāya: commutation for excise duties. Collected on a similar basis to that of *suṅka*. A peculiar kind of farming was in use, details of which are as yet unknown.

#### 4th Group

aḍake lakka 1: sole member of the group surviving. Assessed on a sliding scale to nearest *gadyāṇa*. A fiction. A tax nominally on 'every hundred thousand of areca nuts' or on the first 100,000, whether the estate grew them or not.

These four groups formed the hard core of the *siddhāya* or 'permanent settlement', though the word *siddhāya* came to be used to cover all the items in this list, just as the word *kuḷa* came to be equivalent, loosely speaking, to *siddhāya*. In some revenue accounts these four groups were consolidated under the term *modalu piṇḍādāna*, or 'contribution paid in as the first or chief compressed mass, or the mass containing the *modalu*'. It was an attempt to simplify the revenue rolls. Already we can see the cumulative methods of Hoysaḷa revenue practice.

#### 5th Group

paṇa 1 sēse: 'one-paṇa contribution'. Roughly a fifth of the *kuḷa*.

kāṇḍike-paṇa or (?) kāṇḍike: (?) 'ball of thread *paṇa*'.

ūnata, ōvata or vovata: a heavy tax of unknown origin rising with the productivity of the estate but in no fixed proportion.

vīra-sēse: 'warrior contribution'. A war tax. Grew heavier as time went on, varying from a 30th to a 20th of the total demand.

#### 6th Group

nallāvu nallettu: assessed according to a factor other than the productivity of the estate. Commutation of duty to provide a 'good cow and good bullock' to the king on campaign.\*

khāṇa-nibandha: 'fodder-charge'. Roughly  $1\frac{3}{4}$  per cent of the *kuḷa*. Commutation of duty to provide fodder for the king's horses on campaign.

kaluku or kaḷuka: unintelligible. Fluctuates wildly.

toḍaru: tax on badges of rank. Round sum charged according to the rank of the estate-holder.

\* Mr A. Master suggests that this might rather have been a tax on professional breeders' stocks.

## 7th Group

āneya sēse: 'elephant contribution', for the upkeep of the royal elephant corps. Varied with the size of the estate, and, in a new settlement, with the needs of the military department.

jeḍe-deḍe: 'tax on top-knots'. Substantial sum levied as a commutation. Seems to have been used in the 1250's to find money to send Sōmēśvara back to Kaṇṇanūr.

kuḍureya sēse: 'horse contribution'. Similar to, but heavier than, āneya sēse.

kumāra-gāṇike: 'customary present for the Crown Prince, or Kumāra'. Bore a fixed proportion to the kuḷa.

vijaya-vīra-vaṇa: 'paṇa for victorious warriors'. Another war tax. Did not exceed 1 paṇa except on the larger estates.

koḍati-vaṇa: (?) hammer or pestle paṇa. Seems to have been assessed on a sliding scale, revised between 1253 and 1261. Small amounts.

## 8th Group

khāṇa: 'fodder, or grass'. Commutation of duty to provide fodder for the king's draught cattle. Each estate was assessed to provide so much khāṇa, and a conventional, fixed price was used to calculate the money commutation. Fodder was thus supposed to be worth 2 paṇas 2 hāgas per salage, or rod, demanded.

bhatta: 'paddy'. Commutation of duty to provide paddy for the king's troops. Assessed by the same method as khāṇa. Bhatta was supposed to be worth 6 and 4/5ths hāgas per salage demanded.

eḷḷu: 'sesamum'. As bhatta. Very curiously it was supposed to be worth just twice as much as paddy and thus it was conventionally priced for the purpose of commutation at 3 paṇas 1 and 3/5ths of a hāga per salage.

More curious is the fact that invariably the amount of sesamum assessed was half that of the paddy to the nearest 1/2 koḷaga (20 koḷagas make one salage, which was a square measure like a yard of sand).

The artificiality of this group deserves especial attention. New assessments would elaborately consider how much sesamum the estate holder ought to contribute (originally he would have been called upon to do so only when the king was on campaign in his region of the country), independently of whether he



*grew sesamum* there or not, and then he was forced to commute his duty for a fixed payment in cash, an invariable standard being used from 1223 at the latest until 1291 at the earliest, notwithstanding the rise of crop-prices in the meanwhile.

*9th Group (one item only)*

*Cōla-kārūya-biṭṭiya-bhaṇḍi*. Both *biṭṭi* and *bhaṇḍi* are technical terms implying some type of tax or cess. *Biṭṭi* was perhaps a commutation of duty to do forced labour. Tax levied specially to help the *Cōla*. Its weight lessened as years went on, but it was still levied in 1291, when the *Cōla* was long past being helped.

*10th Group*

*ettin upōttara*: (?) 'best but one of bullocks'. A commutation of some duty to provide a bullock, method of assessment unknown.

*khāṇad upōttara*: (?) 'best but one of lots of fodder'. Only partially intelligible. Similar to the above.

The tenth group closes the list of the normal components of the settlement during the 12th-13th centuries. These two items may be explicable by analogy with the inheritance-tax imposed in medieval Europe and known in England as *heriots*. The best beast or the best piece of silver plate went to the lord of the manor. If the analogy is sound, we have here another commutation for the succession tax capable of being levied within the territory granted by the *śāsana*. The strong impression gained from the totals given in our records that the scale of the basic demand (*kuḷa*) remained unchanged for the best part of a century leads to the conclusion that, though all land not permanently settled by these *śāsanas* was open to reassessment, such reassessment was limited to the assessing of newly cultivated lands, recognition of partitions and the change of course of streams, and the general consolidation and keeping up-to-date of the items on the revenue roll. There is no evidence of an increasing *kuḷa*-demand on the same assessed plot.

(iii) *The disadvantages of the system.*

It has been noticed that there are grounds for believing that in many cases this *siddhāya*, used in the widest sense, was a

moderate demand in proportion to the total productivity of the land. But it must be borne in mind that the *siddhāya* was by no means the total of the taxation borne directly or indirectly by cultivators and artisans. Nevertheless, before we pass to a description of the remainder, it is worth observing that the principle of permanent settlement and the disinclination of a monarch desiring popularity among his subjects to add taxes upon those which had already been imposed helped to make the treasury slow to adjust itself to sudden demands, and disasters such as the loss of Kāṇṇanūr, the invasion of Sāluva Tikkama, the emptying of the king's coffers and stables by Malik Nāib and the extortions of *Ghiyās ud-dīn* of Madura successively brought the king's material power lower and lower. Revenue was feverishly anticipated, where wealthy subjects were prepared to assist the moribund dynasty in that manner, and fresh taxes were imposed where possible, but the only class to benefit from this were the landholders and great feudal chiefs, who themselves consumed the greater part of the revenue actually raised. The taxation over and above the *siddhāya* was either insufficient to meet all the purposes for which it was required, or was intercepted by the local governors for whose livelihood it was in great part designed.

(iv) *Taxation additional to the siddhāya.*

The remaining categories of taxation included the royal extraordinary taxes, the *nāḍ*, *nāḍ*-officials' and landholders' taxes. In the first category come those elements of what was familiarly known as the *apūrvāya*, 'non-previous revenue', which have not been noticed already. It is difficult to be sure what were the items which were counted as *pūrvāya*, 'previous' revenue. The classification is a cross-classification, and its precise meaning as yet escapes us. Perhaps it refers to taxation in the Gaṅga period. The Palace could, and for long periods did, impose taxes known as *ālīya* 'depreciation', and *anyāya*, which perhaps ought rather to be construed as *a-nyāya* than *anya-āya*, and thus would mean 'law-breaking'. It seems that these represented commuted sums in respect of fines that would be due to the king for crimes committed in the estate. What happened if the crimes actually committed gave rise to fines much greater in value is not known, but perhaps the balance was kept by the landholders as one of the perquisites of the king's rent-payers.

Another royal tax was the *kaṭaka-sēse*, or 'contribution for the Camp'. Likewise *hodake* was a kind of tribute which the king had the right to expect on occasions, while *paṭṭa-baddha* ('coronation') and *putrōtsāha* ('birth of a son') were occasional demands sanctioned by immemorial custom. What *abhyāgate*, 'adventitious' or 'accidental', really amounted to one can only guess.

It would be impossible to give a full and reasoned list of the taxes levied with royal sanction by the *nāḍ*-assembly, the *nāḍ-heggaḍe*, and the landholders themselves, or to distinguish precisely which taxes were collected by which authority. Many of the terms are unintelligible and may have been misread in the copies; of those that remain the following are taken as representative and by no means exhaustive.

The *nāḍ-heggaḍe*'s own tax was called his *kāṇike*. A record of 1307 allowed him an income of 1 *paṇa* from each of 40 villages and  $\frac{1}{2}$  *paṇa* from each of 30 villages under his control: even so, counting his dues received from the fair, his emolument was only equal to that of a Brahman teacher of literature or a *pūjāri*, and well below that of a *daṇṇāyaka* governing a district. Amongst the taxes collected by the excise department and/or the landholders were the *āgantuka* (unexpected guest), *maduve* (marriage), *magga-deṛe* or *taṛi-iṛai* (loom tax), *gaṇa-deṛe* or *cekkirai* (oil-press tax), *baṇṇige* (dye tax), *kōṭeya-haḍike* (fort tax), *kōṭṭige-deṛe* (cowshed tax), *maṇe-deṛe* (house tax), *kaḍai-iṛai* (shop tax), *hoge-deṛe* (smoke or hearth tax), *kabbu* or *āle-deṛe* (sugarcane press tax), *koḍe* (parasol), *haḷa* (plough), *ālu-deṛe* (goat tax), *kabbilara-haḍike* (fowler tax), *holeyara haḍike* (outcaste tax), *taṭṭārp-pāṭṭam* (goldsmith tax), *āsuva-kaḍimai* (? *Ājīvaka* tax), *nāṭṭār varivu* (assessment of the *nāḍ* occupants), *nāvida-deṛe* (barber tax), *paṇca-kāruka* (five classes of artisans), *kumbāru-deṛe* (potter tax), *tottu-deṛe* (concubine tax), *ambiga-deṛe* (boatman tax), *oḍḍa-deṛe* (tank-digger's tax), *bāla-vaṇa* (child tax), *irāyasa-nimandi* (clerk's fee), *kēlvi-nimandi* (charge for hearings), *biṭṭi-biḍāra* (contribution in lieu of lodging or ? forced labour), *ayādāya* (? grain receipts by civil servants), *sōdige* (tax), *oḷavāṛu horavāṛu* (import and export duties), *kīl taṇḍu mel taṇḍu* (inferior and superior fines) and *cilavāna* (odd sums, miscellaneous). The inhabitants likewise paid to their local ruler *tappu* (fines), *tavuḍi* (decrease) and *daṇḍāya* (income from

inflicting punishments), while the various items which were received by the assessee to *siddhāya* were known as *kiṛukūḷa*, or the minor assessment. *Ūr-maḷabrāya* is also heard of: it seems to have been a rate collected by the local authority for sanitation.

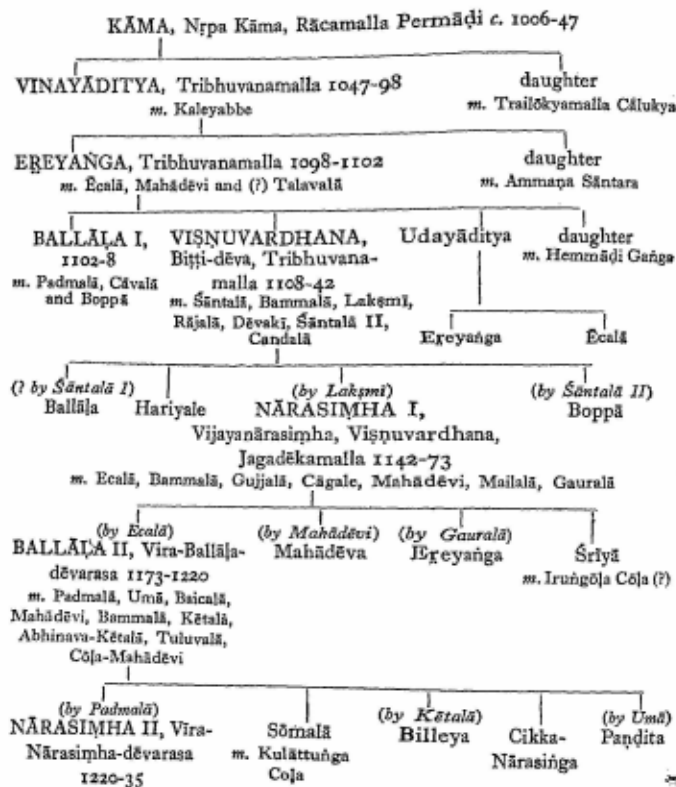
Nor have we arrived at the end of this sorry tale. When the Hoysala went down into the Tamil country both in the mid-13th and early 14th centuries he was apt to impose irregular conquest-taxes on the population, though whether or not in addition to the previous assessment is not known. Some of these taxes, which are frankly called in one record *sūrai-vari* 'blackmail',\* were still being exacted even by Tamiḷian rulers after Hoysala power had been removed.

It is small wonder that once the income from taxation had begun to go in greater and greater part to the local rather than the central government (since the local taxes were not theoretically settled permanently like the central taxes), and as grasping or more deserving *daṇṇāyakas* appropriated revenue that was intended in the great days of Hoysala rule for the maintenance of the imperial forces and dignity, the ruling family had less chance of recuperating from the failure of their ingenious but ill-executed schemes or from the success of ill-conceived ones. The readjustment of the revenue-system had to await the cancellation of old arrangements by the initiative of a new and more welcome dynasty.

\* Not abusively—such a tone is never heard in inscriptions, any more than sarcasm.

# Appendix One

## GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOYSALA FAMILY



✻ NĀRASIMHA II

m. Kājalā

SŌMĒŚVARA, Sōvi-dēva, Vīra-Sōmēśvara

1235-(?)60

m. Dēvikā, Dēvalā, Bijjalā, Sōmalā

daughter

m. Rājārāja Cōja

(by Bijjalā)  
NĀRASIMHA  
III, Vīra-Nāra-  
simha-dēvarasa

1254-92

m. Paṭṭa-mahādēvi

Ponnam-  
balā

daughter  
m. father of  
M. Sundara  
Pāṇḍya

daughter  
m. Padmi-  
dēva

(by Dēvikā)  
RĀMANĀTHA,  
Vīra-Rāmanātha

1254-95

m. Nāgnā, Karmalā,  
Sōmalā

BALLĀLA III, Vīra-Ballāla-  
dēvarasa, Viṣṇuvardhana-vīra-  
Ballāla-dēvarasa 1292-1343

m. Cikkāyi-tāyi

Cōlayya

daughter  
m. Sōmeya-  
daṇḍayaka

VIŚVANĀTHA  
1294-7

BALLĀLA IV, Vīra-Virūpākṣa-  
Ballāla 1343-(?)6

daughter  
m. Mācaya-daṇḍayaka

## Appendix Two

### THE SOURCES

#### (i) *Epigraphical Sources*

In working out the political history of the Hoysaḷa family, inscriptions were bound to be the principal source. A brief account of these records may prove of interest as an introduction for those who have been attracted by the extraordinary wealth of material which is to be found in the *śāsanas* of South India.\* Between about A.D. 400 and A.D. 1600 more than 50,000 records in Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Sanskrit were set up to furnish the researcher with a mine of information on the lives and manners of the inhabitants of South India in a fulness that cannot be rivalled in southern Asia and is hardly exceeded anywhere. Unfortunately not half of the texts of these have been published, and of them the greater part have no, or only inadequate, editorial comments. The collection of Telugu inscriptions from Hyderabad State, of Kannaḍa inscriptions from the Bombay-Karṇāṭaka, of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* and its successor the Mysore Archaeological Reports, and of the *Epigraphia Indica* do, however, provide the extant material in good transliteration, generally translated with helpful notes. One day the huge and as yet unexplored mass of material in Kannaḍa in Hyderabad State will be published, it is hoped, and then a full-scale work on the dynasties of Karṇāṭaka will be possible.

From the two examples which appear below it will be evident that what the inscriptions actually give us is a collection of fragments of a mosaic or a huge jig-saw puzzle. Some of the pieces are blurred, and the edges of others have been, as it were, worn down, so that many a piece will often seem as if it would fit in several places. Many pieces are as yet missing. However, if we move from the known to the unknown the pattern gradually shapes up, and after a while we can stand back and see the picture. Whether we like what we see is, of course, quite another matter, but conclusions derived from inscriptional material are generally solid, and serve as a peg on which to hang scraps derivable from other sources.

For historical purposes the Kannaḍa inscriptions are superior to those in Tamil. In the Tamil country, down on the plains, records

\* The student is strongly advised to read Dr B. Ch. Chhabra's article on *Diplomatic of Sanskrit Copper-plate Grants* (*Indian Archives*, 1951).

were inscribed on the walls of temples, and available space was generally reserved for business details, not all of which interest us now, seeing that our first duty is to establish the chronology before we can attempt to clothe that skeleton with economic and sociological flesh and cultural adornment. In the Kannaḍa inscriptions, however, stone as well as copper-plate, a consistent attempt was made to obey literally the behest of the classical lawyers, who required evidence of alienations to be complete not only in respect of particulars of the parties, the nature of the transaction, its purpose, and the date, but also with a sufficient description of the land or subject-matter of the transaction, an account of the witnesses to the ceremony of gift and so on, and a note of the reign and the ruler's three paternal ancestors. The most usual permanent record was a free-standing stone, appropriately decorated, which could be ordered and inscribed with as long and as detailed a record as that party (usually the donor) could afford to whom it mattered most that the transaction should be given publicity and permanence. Since grants for *dharma*, that is to say for the regular performance of a religious ceremony or for the decoration of a temple or for the erection or maintenance of a public charity or utility such as a well or a tank, were associated with the people's welfare as well as the donor's own and his ancestors' and descendants' spiritual happiness, it was a convention that such grants, if substantiated by proper evidence, were irresumable even by a conqueror. In practice, of course, the benefit of a donation might be enjoyed by human beings, who thus, by right of special privileges, had an advantage over the rest of the king's subjects. One may take for example the *sthānādhipatis* of a wealthy temple. Nevertheless the superstitious awe with which *dēvadāya* property was respected in the majority of cases served to keep religious endowments as a separate category of property.

A regular system of recording permanently the endowments themselves was, of course, necessary. The perishable material on which the government kept its records and accounts would, if it alone had been resorted to, have involved the loss, by default of evidence, of many a religious grant in a lawsuit even a century after the gift. Our lithic records and copper-plate deeds performed the important function of obviating such a misfortune. The stones weighed several hundredweights and became a feature of the village scene, and to prevent copper-plates being stolen they were sometimes made extravagantly large and heavy, at some considerable additional cost to the donor. Even so, similar records often had to be buried by their owners for safety. A change of government might involve a resumption of grants, or the line of the grantees might die out: in either case the valuable copper was still worth something if melted down or



prepared for a palimpsest inscription, and this is one reason why we have not more of them surviving today.

The opportunity which the composition of these records offered was utilized in very many cases by the wealthier donors in order to employ poets to write fulsome accounts of the history of the donor and his family. These exploits, fortunately for the historian, sometimes involved a mention of the kings during whose reign they took place. It was not good form for a subordinate officer to praise himself in this way unless he recognized his superiors at least formally, and gave space for a glorification of the contemporary ruler and at least a conventional account of that ruler's own ancestors. Thus at once demands of etiquette and the law were satisfied. Quite a humble example of the effect of this convention will often give us a number of historical details, as in this case (see A.R.I.E. 1945-6, App. B., No. 288 [*cf. ibid.* 285]):

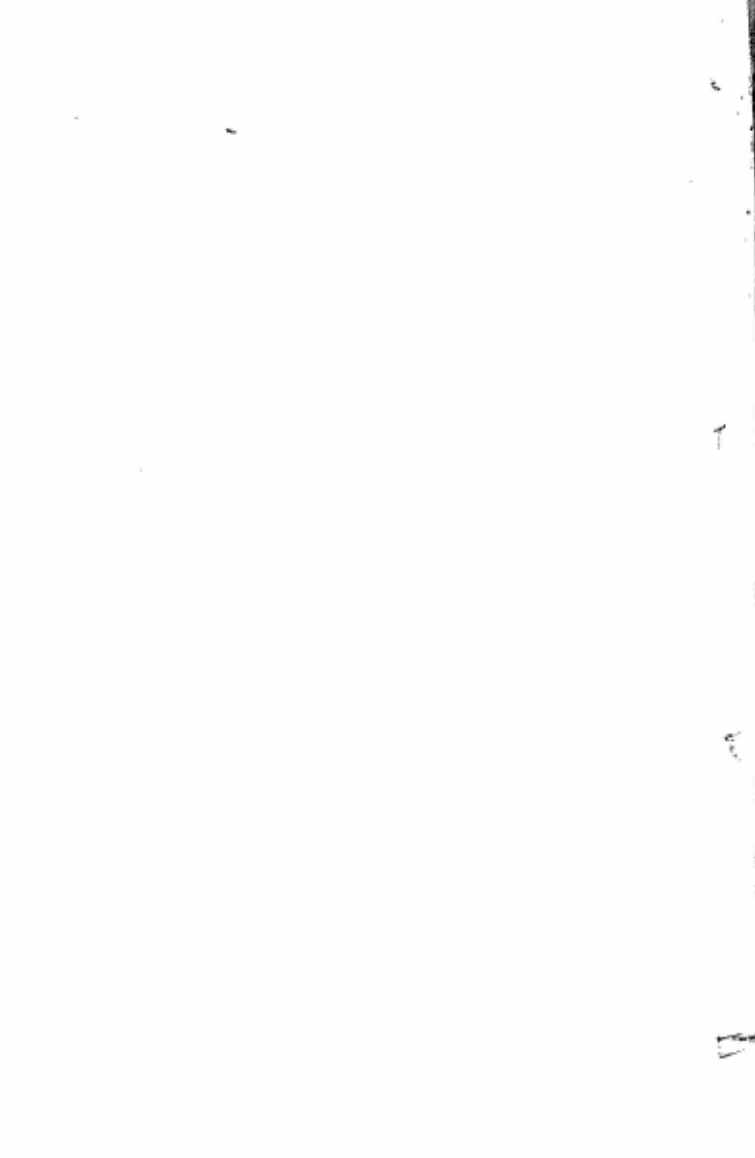
*A grant was made while Lokate was governing the Banavāse 12,000; Ōmkāra-śiva-bhaṭṭāra was ruling Palasūr,\* Anṇiga was the nāl (=nāḍ)-gāvunḍa, Māravayya was the perggade, and Āyica-gāvunḍa was the ūr-gāvunḍa.*

There are some very elaborate examples of the *śāsana-hāra*'s art which it would be impossible to reproduce here even in summary. The student has been invited above† to examine some important examples, and could with profit refer to the undernoted inscriptions which are among the best produced during the Hoysala period.‡ A fairly typical example of a grant is E.C.iv Krishnarajapet 76, a record of the year 1242. The donor was obliged to give the king's titles in

\*The modern Halsūru, near Baṅkāpura. This record is dated in the reign of the Rāstrakūṭa Kannara, equivalent to A.D. 896.

†See above, pp. 36 and 115. ‡E.C.ii 117 (1123 A.D.); *ibid.* 131, 132 (1123); E.C.v Channarayapatna 149 (1125); E.C.ii 67 (1129); E.C.v Belur 124 (1133); E.C.vi Chikmagalur 161 (1137); E.C.v Channarayapatna 145 (1139); E.C.vi Kadur 96 (1141); E.C.iv Nagamangala 76 (1145); E.C.v Hassan 57 (1155); E.C.v Arsikere 141 (1158-9); E.C.ii 349 (1159); E.C.v Belur 193 (1161); E.C.v Arsikere 142 (1162); E.C.ii 64 (1163); E.C.v Arsikere 1 (1168); E.C.v Hassan 53 (1170); E.C.vi Kadur 66 (1172); E.C.v Arsikere 71 (1173); E.C.ii 66 (1177); E.C.v Channarayapatna 209 (1178); E.C.ii 327 (1181); E.C.v Channarayapatna 254 (1182); E.C.v Arsikere 127 (1185); *ibid.* 90 (1189); E.C.viii Sorab 140 (1198); E.C.vii Shikarpur 186 (1200); E.C.v Arsikere 40 (1209); E.C.v Channarayapatna 172 (1209 & 1220); *ibid.* 243-4 (1210); E.C.v Hassan 61 (1218); E.C.v Arsikere 77 (1220); E.C.v Channarayapatna 203A (1223); E.C.xi Davangere 25 (1224); S.I.I.ix 343 (1226); E.C.iii Mandya 121 (1235); E.C.vi Tarikere 87 (1239); E.C.v Channarayapatna 236-7 (1253); E.C.v Arsikere 108 (1255); E.C.xi Davangere 36 (1268); E.C.iii Tirumakudal-Narsipur 97 (1276); E.C.vi Tarikere 88 (1297); E.C.v Arsikere 114 (c. 1300). The provenance of these inscriptions—largely from the area within Vinayāditya's kingdom—indicates that Kannada literary taste in the Hoysala country was more productive within the vicinity of the capital, while the dates of these compositions show that the reigns of Viṣṇuvardhana and Ballāla II were most congenial to the patronage needed to perpetuate such productions.





full, but economized on the invocation, where we would expect to find the usual verse in praise of the god Śiva which commences *namas tuiṅga-śiraś-cumbi-candra-cāmara-cāraṇe*, and also on his references to the royal family (where a lengthy verse account of the Hoysaḷa genealogy is usual), in order to commission and have engraved a long series of verses in praise of himself, several of which, together with the usual imprecation, are illegible. What remains, with the exception of the verses in praise of the donor's manifold generosity, may fairly be translated as follows :

*Invocation* : May it be propitious !

*Introduction* :

- (i) *the king* While the refuge of the entire Earth, beloved of the World, overlord of great Kings, the mighty Lord, the chosen Lord of the City of Dvārāvati, sun in the sky of the Yādava race, crest-jewel of propriety, King of hill-kings, champion among hill-chiefs, mighty in war, hero with but one limb, warrior without comrade, successful on a Saturday, wrestler with hill-forts, a Rāma in firmness of character, architect of the establishing of the Cōḷa, uprooter of the Makara kingdom, scatterer of the Pāṇḍya, the Emperor of unshaken brilliance, Virasōmēśvara-dēva was ruling the Earth in the enjoyment of pleasant harmony in his established camp in the Cōḷa country:
- (ii) *the capital*
- (iii) *date* In the one thousand one hundred and sixty-fourth *śaka* year, the year Śubhakar̥t, the tenth of the bright fortnight of the month Āśvayuja, Sunday:

*Preamble* :

- (i) *donor's ancestry* May it be propitious ! To the fortunate great *nāḍ-prabhu*, a Radheya in truth, protector of refugees, a fishing line to those who oppose him, forehead-ornament of the Beḷḷiyara line, Damma-*gaupḍa* and to Bomma-*gaupḍi* was born a good son, the enlightener of his family, Biṭṭi-*gaupḍa*. His wife Bica-*gaupḍi* bore to him a good son, purifier of his *gōtra*, Hariya-*gaupḍa*. To him and to Hiriya-*gaupḍi* was born Māra-dēva. His noble wife Māci-*gaupḍi* bore Kalle-*gaupḍa* of Jāganakere, called purifier of the world and known as the chief forehead-ornament of Kikkēri-street.\*

\* Kikkēri was about six miles north-west of Jāganakere, and doubtless one of the main roads in the latter village bore that name.

- (ii) *the donor* To describe the greatness of Kalle-gauḍa of Jāga-nakeṇe:—A Bhīma in firmness of character, a champion as good as his word, a Rādhēya in truth, protector of refugees, a tree of plenty to dependants, a wishing-stone to his relations, delighter in gifts of food, extremely compassionate to all living creatures, upholder of the four castes, worshipper of the god Kale-dēva,
- Grant or dedication; its motive* Kalle-gauḍa in the name\* of his *ajja* (here = great-great-grandfather) Damma-gauḍa, set up the god Dammēśvara, and erected a Śiva temple of stone, to continue as long as Sun, Moon and Stars.

(Here follow further praises of Kalle-gauḍa and the imprecation upon whoever should tamper with the endowment.)

A second important class of inscription consists of *vīragals* or 'hero-stones'. Any warrior who died in battle was by the ethics of the time assured a place in the 'heaven of heroes', and for his happiness there his dependants, if they could afford to do so, set up a stone engraved with particulars of his exploit and a vivid set of pictorial representations of the act of heroism and the hero's translation to paradise. On account of the rivalry for possession of the land north and west of the Tuṅgabhadra a great number of these stones are found there. Since a grant of land was not always involved, the records engraved round the sculptured scenes are quite frequently short and pithy. Alone, however, or in conjunction with others containing fuller particulars, these also can be of great historical interest. Where a grant was made, either for the maintenance of the dependants or for the preparation or worship of the stone, we find the usual legal details, if not always in the same elaboration that was usual with the normal endowment-*sāsana*. E.C. v Arsikere 31 of the year 1331 is typical of a *vīragal*, and may be translated as follows:

- Invocation* Good fortune, victory and prosperity!
- Date* In the 1253rd *taka* year, the year Prajōtpatti, the seventh of the dark fortnight of the month Vaiśākha, Monday:
- Introduction* When the fortunate Emperor of brilliance, the Hoysana strong-armed Vīra-Ballāḷa-dēva and the great minister Kāmeya-danṇāyaka were ruling the kingdom in peace:
- Preamble* Māra-gauḍa, son of Bala-gauḍa of Lingadahalli, a hand-to-hand fighter of the capital, when the Turakas came from Govanakallu, fought them and captured the horse.'

\* See below, p. 223.

- Grant; its motive* The King and Kāmeya-danḍāyaka being pleased made a grant to him of Kallugundi and its hamlets, as a *grant for blood*, a grant to last as long as Earth, Moon and Sun, and set up this stone *sāsana*. Let it be auspicious! Great prosperity!
- Imprecation* Whoever seizes on land given by himself or by another is born a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years.

From these *sāsanas* it is possible to establish certain facts. It is true that they were never intended to be historical records; but attention to the prescribed legal form offered substantial rewards for all those who desired the grants' perpetuity. Future kings, seeing the name of their ancestor and details of his lineage, would forbear to resume the grant, since the 'protection' of grants was a meritorious act second only to an actual donation, and the merit affected generations dead and yet to be born. A king of a conquering dynasty, however, could not be expected to feel the same scruples. In time of war, therefore, prospective donors and writers of *sāsanas* in frontier districts would be placed in grave embarrassments. If they placed their own king first, and he were defeated, the chances of the grant being resumed were increased. If they waited until the issue was certain the grant might never be made, or could not be made at the most auspicious moment. If they took a chance and named the enemy king before the latter's occupation of the district were established, and their own ruler reoccupied the village, they risked prosecution for treason. Two alternatives resolved the difficulty. Either they could commission a *sāsana* without reference to any ruler, which was by far the safest course; or they could refer to the imperial house to which both of the rivals owed nominal allegiance. The latter course was naturally not readily available throughout our period. A third, a rather ridiculous course, was to mention *both* the rivals as ruling. For example, in E.C. xii Tumkur 56 of the year 1279 (in the midst of the civil war), the *sāsana*kāra tactfully but absurdly wrote:

The Emperor of brilliance, the Hoysaḷa Vīra-Rāmanātha-dēva's great house-minister . . . gave . . . for the offerings to the god Rāmanātha of Śītakaḷ . . .

This work of merit (was done) while Vīra-Nārasiṅga-dēva was attending to the government of the World.\*

As a result of this we can, nine times out of ten, be sure that where the stone now stands, or in the village which formed the subject-matter of the copper-plate grant, the ruler named was in fact king at the time stated, and, if an imperial house is mentioned, that king did acknowledge allegiance to that house. The accuracy of the

\* I dharmavaṇu vīra-Nārasiṅga-dēvaṇu pṛthvi-rājyava nōḷalu.

acknowledgement and of the titles borne by the king as historical data is ensured by the fact that it was one of the functions of the Foreign Affairs department to supervise the preparation of *śāsanas* and in particular their *prāśastis*, or introductions. Good terms with the Emperor, if any, and with allies and so on demanded that records should be kept up-to-date: for example, the sudden change of front towards the Pāṇḍya during the reign of Sōmēśvara\* had to be reflected immediately in the king's 'style and titles'. The *sandhi-vigrahi* or *sandhivigrahika*† was authorized to approve of all grants, in particular those emanating from the king's own secretariat, which served as models for the whole country, and in the period immediately preceding the Hoysaḷa period we find many examples where that minister actually composed, drafted or approved the *śāsanas* themselves. Viṣṇūnēśvara in his *Mitākṣarā* distinctly refers to this practice.

The student would, however, be misled if it were left to be assumed that all inscriptions are as reliable as this. The 'rogue' or eccentric inscription occurs from time to time, and in the matter of dating certain difficulties are quite common. The occasional forgery is met with: if it is a good one it is not at all easily detected, and even forgeries have their historical value. The prime source of difficulty is the process by which the *śāsana* has passed from the Hoysaḷa secretariat or from the office of a remote village scribe to our books today. After the draft had been composed and approved—and we can be sure that in remote parts in matters of no large importance approval from the capital or even from the *nāḍ* headquarters was not always sought—it had to be copied out calligraphically upon the material to be engraved by a specialist in the beautiful round script which is characteristic of the period. This specialist, being concerned more with the appearance, and, of course, with the need to economize with his space, concentrated on the letters sometimes to the detriment of the actual copy and its sense. So well was this work done technically that today it would be impossible to squeeze another syllable onto some of the closely engraved stones. Nevertheless the result had to be legible even by persons not over-given to reading and we must often marvel at the effect, despite the fact that in the process a number of syllables might have been omitted or confused. Next the *rūdāri*, or sculptor-engraver, worked with his chisel over the copy prepared by the calligrapher. This artisan was generally, though not always, completely illiterate, and had no idea as to the sense of what he was engraving. Hence he sometimes confused what he wrote. The completely illiterate artisan was, from our point of view, the more useful, for the partly literate clearly tried to read what he was engraving, and sometimes jumped to conclusions as to what such and such a word should

\* See above, p. 125.

† See above, p. 192.

be and made surreptitious corrections or adaptations of the syllables as he went along. The use of conventional phrases, admitting the smallest possible deviation in the business part of the *śāsana*, was adopted largely to defeat such inevitable tendencies. The work of the engraver, as well as the composer, was very well paid, and it is not uncommon to find that the engraver was given a small fraction of the land donated as an inducement not only to leave the vast architectural projects which employed a good number of the country's skilled sculptors, but also to take his time over the *śāsana* and make sure that he copied it correctly. If any faults were detected afterwards it was often difficult to insert omissions, if the calligrapher had been properly sparing of the costly stone, and for the same reason it was difficult to make additions elsewhere.

When Sir Walter Elliot started making his collection in Dharwar and adjacent regions there were comparatively few people who could read these *śāsanas*. The script in use in the mid-19th century had progressed, not in beauty, but in distinction of characters, from that used in the Hoysala period, and some training was needed before his assistants could make tolerable copies. This they did, it is clear, by eye only. When Rice started to tour Mysore in search of inscriptions the new technique of combining estampages, rubbings and eye-copies, not to mention photographs, was beginning to be used, and his first publications aroused great interest. The minute photographs that were available to him when he published his *Mysore Inscriptions* could, of course, give only a vague notion of the contents of the records, and these latter were but a fraction of the total number to be seen and studied. Later he gathered rubbings of nine-tenths of the inscriptions of Mysore and published them in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*. The work was done in three stages. From the rubbings and sight-copies three versions were prepared independently, so that they serve as a check upon one another: the copy in Kannaḍa script, the copy in Roman script, and the translation into English. Numerous problems faced those who had the duty of deciphering the inscriptions and the copyist and translator might, and often did, arrive at contrary conclusions. Since the vocabulary and grammar of Kannaḍa, let alone local pronunciation and spelling, had changed so much in the interval, the copies are often defective, largely because the imagination of the modern copyist was either too active or misdirected. Rice exercised a choice among the inscriptions which he would translate, and we find that numerous fragmentary records which he thought fit to ignore in his series of translations do in fact contain historical material of great interest.

Dating is our greatest difficulty chiefly because numerals were the most troublesome to the ancient scribes. Confusion and mis-



reading of numerals, wherever numerals occur, is very common. On the other hand dating difficulties are increased by the fact that verifiable dates seldom 'work out' because the composer had forgotten in which month a particular eclipse had taken place, or thought the date would look better if an eclipse or solstice were put in, independent of whether one occurred at that time or not, for such occasions were auspicious for its making. A lax attitude was adopted towards chronological data. The *śaka* year is sometimes past and sometimes current, and hence, when in doubt, the year-name should always be relied on, since the sixty-year cycle was a matter upon which little doubt could exist. But even there, occasionally, we find the year-name miscopied, and on occasions, as in E.C.vi Kadur 99 (1142), we must accept the *śaka* year and reject the year-name. On one occasion one is obliged to go to the remarkable length of refusing to believe the *śaka* year itself when given in words.\* Sometimes records were recopied a generation or so later, and the opportunity was taken of adding or adapting material. Thus E.C.vi Chikamagalur 137, which purports to be of 1130, was really put into its present form in about 1190. All these corrections are necessary in order that the consistency of the majority of inscriptions can be preserved.

Where a record bears no date we are obliged to assign it to a year according to the general circumstances, the king's titles, which are generally reliable, and, where that fails, according to the general style and palaeography. Rice was often obliged to guess at the date of a record, and, since he clearly could not keep a complete card-index of records, and was concerned with the history of a vast number of dynasties from the time of Aśoka Maurya to the Kingdom of Mysore, it was inevitable that he should make many wrong assignments. One should take care not to rely upon a guess, such as the one which suggested to him that he should assign a record of Ballāḷa III in the eastern kingdom (Kundāṇi) to 1300.

The inscriptions of the Tamil country are more difficult to deal with, seeing that they are dated in the regnal year of the king. Since many kings bore the same titles great confusion results. From Coḷa records in the Telugu country, where *śaka* dates were in use, and from records in the Coḷa-nāḍ itself during the final years of the Hoysāḷa period, it is possible to equate regnal years with *śaka* years and thus our chronology may have a certain solid basis in the Tamil country also, even if we were to leave aside data derivable from other sources.

#### (ii) *Literary Sources*

Literary sources are, on the whole, far less reliable than epigraphical sources. Those from which much may be expected in years

\* M.A.R. 1925, 52 (1108).

to come are the Kannaḍa classics written during the Hoysaḷa period. But they cannot reveal their historical treasures before the bare bones of the political history are exposed from solid epigraphical sources. Many poets exercised their skill in elaborate parallels between their royal patrons, their households and fortunes and those of the heroes of mythology. The parallel was seldom pointed, and compliments were preferred to be delicate. The passage quoted below from the *Jagannātha-vijaya*\* and references in the *Sūktisudhāṛṇava* should be regarded as rather gross allusions, and by no means typical. It is to be hoped that specialists in old Kannaḍa literature will bring to light the significance of the multitudinous allusions of a very subtle kind to be found in those classics.

In Sanskrit the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* contains material of historical value,† though it was not written as a chronicle and was intended to be an encomium of Sōmēśvara, placing his birth and his family in a religio-mythological setting. The author was a man of distinction and his work has the merit of being nearly contemporary with the historical events he mentions. The *Guruvamśa-mahākāvya* of Lakṣmaṇasāstri (*floruit* 1720) preserves a number of legends not without historical basis and his account of the conflict between Harihara and Bukka and the Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III is of more than passing interest.

In Telugu the works of Tikkana Sōmayāji are as suspect in point of accuracy as that of Bilhara‡ in Sanskrit, and for the same reason. His patron at Nellore required glorification and would hardly have thanked the distinguished poet for objective criticism. They do, however, contain references which help to complete the picture.

The literature concerning Kumāra Rāma of Kāmpili-Kummaṭa is of great interest and repays study. The suggestion found there that Ballāḷa III attacked Rāma in the company of the Muslims is not inherently improbable but is unsupported by epigraphical evidence. The Kannaḍa literature on Kāmpili, which arrested the imagination of all Kārnāṭaka, includes the *Paranāriyarige Sahodaranembantha Kathe* of Nāgasahayya, Gaṅga's *Kumāra Rāma Sāṅgatya* and the *Paradāra Sodara Rāmana Kathe*.

In Tamil the *Kōyiloḷuḷu* is a work of perhaps the late 16th or early 17th century which is clearly based upon a study of documents preserved then in the temple of Viṣṇu at Śrīraṅgam. The *Koṅgadēla-rājāḱkal* is likewise a work of original research undertaken perhaps in the early 17th century with the use of documentary material, not all of which is now available. It gives a remarkably good list of the Hoysaḷa kings, not however complete, and gives dates for those

\* See below, p. 228.

† See below, p. 226.

‡ See above, p. 31.

mentioned, not always the most significant dates in their reigns, and not invariably correct. The *Arupācala-purāṇam* is, for the history of Ballāḷa III, utterly useless.

Slightly more modern perhaps are the legendary or quasi-legendary works on the Hoysaḷas such as the *Hoysaḷa-rāja-vijayam*, *Dīvyacaritre*, and *Hoysaḷa-rāja-kula-vamśa*; with those we may class the *Sthala-purāṇams* of Talakāḍ and Śravaṇa Belgola, the Kaifiyats of Belūr, Halebid and Kannambāḍi, the *Karṇāṭaka-rājakula-saṁvistaracaritram*, the *Delhi-mahārāja-kāla-kaifiyat*, and the *Cenna-Basava-kālaḥṣṭāna*. A diligent search would reveal more material written long after the last Hoysaḷa had passed away but retaining much which was still preserved in the memories of their subjects' descendants or in sundry ill-assorted records. We cannot glean much from such sources as these, but they have their own interest. A revelation of the ignorance, or rather lack of objective interest, on historical topics prevailing in Mysore and thereabouts in the first years of the 19th century is to be found amongst the experiences of Dr Francis Buchanan during his famous tour. This survey would not be complete without a mention of the *Ballāḷa-rāja-caritre* of Śrī-Jambulingayya, a copy of which is to be found in the Tanjore Sarasvatī Mahal Library. The present writer has not had the advantage of seeing it, and it would be improper to condemn it without examination. On the whole, however, it seems very likely that it is a work of Vīra-Śaiva ethics in which the Hoysaḷa king serves merely to point some moral in a manner which would interest students of the history of Vīra-Śaiva apologetics, and in this respect it is probably no more reliable historically than the well-known *Rāja-śekhara-vilāsa* or the *Arupācala-purāṇam* referred to above.

The sources in Persian and Arabic are another matter. The expedition of Malik Nāṣir in 1310-11 and its aftermath achieved a notoriety which can hardly be paralleled in the annals of the Sultanate of Delhi. Four contemporary writers in Persian have left accounts of its details. Their statements deserve to be treated with respect, as their opportunities for hearing a large part of the truth were great, and our epigraphical material is sadly lacking in the sort of factual minutiae we should welcome. The use of the Persian sources is highly technical, particularly because the authors, though differing among themselves, were alike in having a philosophy of history and an attitude to their material which fails to square either with the demands of modern scholarship or with the conventions of contemporary Hindu historiography. Their objectivity is never beyond suspicion, and, though they may stop short of obvious distortion, their methods of selection were controlled by the desire to please a royal patron or a group of the nobility. Alternatively a theological

approach, which saw the hand of God in a series of upward or downward trends, deprives a 'history' of usefulness unless the reader is prepared to recognize its limitations.\*

Amir *Khusrau* Dihlavi has given two accounts of Malik Nāib's successes in his poem, the *Duswal Rānī i Khadīr Khān*, and in his extraordinarily florid and artificial prose work, the *Khawān ul Futūh*. The latter has been rather inadequately translated by Mr Habib. There is evidence that Amir *Khusrau* himself accompanied the army to the South, but many of his realistic touches, revealing an intimate knowledge of the geography and language of that part of Karṇāṭaka, may equally well have been derived from an eye-witness. *Qiyā ud-dīn Baranī* gives a brief account in the nature of a summary, while 'Iṣāmī, writing his *Futūh us-Salāṭīn* in 1349-50 for the delight of the Court of the first king of the Bahmanī dynasty, seems to relate without much criticism what was common knowledge among the bards and busybodies of that day. 'Abd Allāh Shīrāzī Waṣṣāf, though a Persian writing in Persia, obviously used informants resident in India, for he is able to throw interesting side-lights on the history of the Tamil country during the first decade of the 14th century.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, the chief Arabic authority of this period, was a contemporary of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, and was in an excellent position to be conversant with events which concern us in this story. His account seems wholly reliable, though there is reason to marvel at this since he is known to have lost his notes more than once. This, however, is not the place to comment on his remarkable memory.

Firishtah deserves separate mention. His Persian history, written long after our period, contains several scraps of information apparently derived from sources not utilized by the contemporary writers. He brought out two editions of his work which differ quite materially in places, and the inadequate translation of Briggs has led to much misunderstanding. It is high time that a critical edition of Firishtah was prepared.

In conclusion it is only fair to add that in utilizing these varied and often troublesome sources the historian assumes a heavy responsibility; it can never be taken for granted that his conjectures are the right ones, and in assembling his mosaic he can never be completely conscious of the extent to which he imposes a pattern born in his own mind upon the pieces which do not automatically take up their proper position. In this sense an entirely objective history is never possible. We must content ourselves with the reflection that the nearer we approach the objective the less informative the material itself becomes.

\* The results of the critical study by Dr Peter Hardy (of the University of London) of the Persian historians of the Sultanate period, now (1956) about to be published, will repay the student's careful attention.

Every re-examination of the existing data and every discovery of new sources adds to the challenge before the historian, and he does no more than add his contribution to the pile. Thus at some unpredictable point in the future an all-embracing mind may see the continuity of the present with the past in its wholeness and its full significance. In the meanwhile we must be proud to have been able to imagine that we have seen a fragment for an impermanent instant, knowing that within a lifetime other minds may well have rearranged the pattern and created a new picture from the old material.

## NOTES

Chapter One, Note 1 (p. 14). *Cultural level of the Gaṅgavāḍi before the Hoysaḷa period.*

Examples of literature composed in the Gaṅgavāḍi before the Hoysaḷa period are very few. The Gaṅga King Durvinīta is believed, if the identification be correct, to have written a commentary on a portion of Bhāṛavi's *Kirātārjunīya*, but it does not survive. The centre of Kannaḍa culture was north of the Tuṅgabhadra, but a town like Banavāse shared the prestige of Koppaṇa and Kisuvoḷa (the modern Paṭṭadakal). We learn from the *Kavirājamārṅga* (I, 37) that all the centres where pure Kannaḍa was spoken were north of the Tuṅgabhadra. Pampa was a Huligere man; Ponna and Ranna received Rāṣṭrakūṭa before they received Gaṅga patronage. Sōma-dēva of *Yalastilaka* and *Nitivākyāṃṛta* fame had a Cālukya feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III as a patron. When Cāmuṇḍa-rāya, minister of the Gaṅga Rācamalla IV, composed his lengthy and well-known *purāṇa* he was something of a pioneer for the Gaṅgavāḍi, but that was between 970 and 980. The Jainas, who had done more than any sect to make the Gaṅgavāḍi literate, clearly without conspicuous success, had made vast contributions to classical Kannaḍa, but, though much patronized by the Gaṅga kings, they had but one centre south of the Tuṅgabhadra, and that was Śravaṇa Belgōḷa, where it is clear that Hoysaḷa progress infused much new life and vigour. The carving out and dedication of the colossal figure of Gommaṭeṣvara at that place was a protesting gesture at the progress of Brahmanical or at any rate theistic cults at the expense of Jainism. It remains to be shown what proportion of that impetus came from *within* the Gaṅgavāḍi. When Śaivism regained favour, teachers had to be sought from northern cities such as Baligāve. Sculpture under the Gaṅgas was but poorly developed, their surviving buildings being small and plain. Moraes (*Kadamba Kula*, p. 314) even asserts Kadamba motifs as the basis of the Hoysaḷas' peculiar style of temple construction in Karṇāṭaka. It is certain, at any rate, that the latter had to employ sculptors at first, and for a long period, from the lands beyond the Tuṅgabhadra, or the far north of the Gaṅgavāḍi.

Chapter One, Note 2 (p. 15). '*Hoysaḷa*.'

For the ending -aḷa cf. Bijjala. And just as the latter is spelt alternatively Bijjaṇa, so Hoysaṇa is almost as common as Hoysaḷa. Poysaḷa was the original form, and in Tamil, Grantha and Marāṭhi

sources we come across Hōsaḷa, Pōcaḷa, Bhocaḷa, Bhojaḷa, and Hoyisaḷa. The forms used by some modern Indian scholars on occasions, Hoyasaḷa, Hoysaḷa, Hoyśaḷa, never occur in authentic records and are incorrect. Poynāḷa, which occurs in E.C. ix Nelamangala 38b (1292) is corrupt. Hōvisaḷa, in M.A.R. 1943, 9 (c.1280) is a variant of Hōsaḷa. B. R. Joshi's theory (I.H.Q. xxii pp. 172 ff.) of the derivation of Hoysaḷa from the Hoisleru in N. Kanara, and his reference to *Mysore Tribes & Castes* under 'Hasaleru', are unconvincing.

Chapter Two, Note 1 (p. 18). *The Hoysaḷa's fight with Aprameya.*

E.C. iii Tirumakudal-Narsipur 44 (1006) was first accepted by Fleet and quoted in his D.K.D. on p. 491, then rejected (see his copy of E.C. iii preserved at the S.O.A.S.) as a result of Kielhorn's unnecessary rejection of the date (E.I. iv, 1896-7, p. 68). The correction there to 1066 is otiose for (a) perfectly genuine inscriptions often have inaccurate dates; (b) the record is in Kannaḍa (rare in those parts for official purposes from the consolidation of Cōḷa rule to the reign of Ballaḷa III); (c) the Hoysaḷa would hardly have attempted to oust the Cōḷa feudatory when Rājendra Cōḷa's power was at its zenith; and finally (d) in 1066 the Hoysaḷa was active on his northern frontier. Sewell omits to mention this important record in his *Historical Inscriptions of South India*.

Chapter Two, Note 2 (p. 31). *Anantapāla-danṇāyaka.*

This general, who was, it appears, always commissioned with his nephew Gōvinda, was given charge of Belvola, Huligere and Bānavāse almost continuously between 1099 and 1121. In a record of uncertain date he is given the title *Cakrakūṭa-saṅcālana*, but this is more likely to have been earned after leaving Kuntala, to which he may well have returned afterwards. See S.I.I. vi 122-3 (A.R. 1897, 154), which is in Kannaḍa, at Cebrolu, Bapatla tāḷuka, Guntur district, where Telugu was the regional language. Dr G. C. Raychaudhuri (thesis, p. 268) feels that the Hoysaḷas and Anantapāla took part in the same errand. He says that the title quoted above refers to Gōvinda, but on the contrary it clearly belongs to his uncle. We learn from the record, moreover, that the exploits were performed under the orders of Vikramāditya.

No aid in dating the Cakragoṭṭa episodes may be obtained from the records of Sōmśvara, the Nāgavarṇśi chieftain who ruled at Cakragoṭṭa from 1069 at the latest to 1109 at the earliest (see Hira Lal, *Descriptive Lists*, pp. 148-50 and A.R. 1909, pp. 111-12).

For an additional complication in Veṅgi and Kālīṅga in c. 1097 see the account given by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his *History of India* (1950) pt. I, p. 249.

Chapter Two, Note 3 (p. 34). *Dōrasamudra*.

The old view was that Dōra- represented the Sanskrit Dvāra-. In fact it represents Dhruva. A record of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dōra is found at Narēgal, Hānuṅgal *tāluka*, published in E.I. vi, p. 163 (see A.R.I.E. 1946-7 App. B. 226). This Dōra or Dhōra is mentioned in E.I. xvi 75 and ff. (A.D. 1037) and another, probably the one who created the *samudra* or large tank at Dōrasamudra, in M.A.R. 1924, 80 of A.D. 799 and M.A.R. 1920, 122 of A.D. 808. There is a Dōra-nahalli, or 'Dōra's village' in the Hassan *tāluka* not far south of Dōra-samudra. When the Hoysaḷa is referred to as the 'chosen Lord of the city of Dvārāvati', the reference is to Dvārakā, the city of the Yādava Kṛṣṇa, though some false etymology may have been brought into play to identify metaphorically the two places.

A difficulty exists, however, as to whether the spelling should be Dōrasamudra or Dhōrasamudra. Dhōra is clearly a more natural corruption of Dhruva than Dōra, and the aspirate is found in two places in the *Gadyakarmāmṛta*. The Persian authors, with the single exception of Waṣṣāf, uniformly give the aspirate. In inscriptions Fleet found the aspirate several times, but the distinction between *da* and *dha* in the Hoysaḷa script was very slight indeed (see Plate V, line 10, which is exceptionally clear). The *Sūktisudhāṛṇava* on the other hand gives Dōra- and, as this form is more in accord with Kannaḍa taste, which abhors aspirated consonants, it has been adopted in this book.

Chapter Two, Note 4 (p. 35). *Vardhamāna-dēva*.

M.A.R. 1929, 41 (c. 1070) tells of the death by *sannyāsa* of the Jaina teacher Vardhamāna-deva, disciple of Vādi-rāja of the Nandigaṇa, Ārunḡaḷānvaya and Drāviḷa-saṅgha. Dr Krishna, *ibid.*, p. 109, rightly ascribes the record to the reign of Vinayāditya, but Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, 66-7, denies this, connecting this Vardhamāna gratuitously with the Sudatta who was connected with the mythical Saḷa (in whom he believes) and weaving a subtle web around the personality of the equally non-existent Vinayāditya I (there was only one Vinayāditya). Saletore experiences difficulty in understanding the title which is given to Vardhamāna in the record. It is *Hoysaḷa-kārāliyaḍaḷu agraganyaru*. The ending of the second word looks suspicious in so early a record, but that word can presumably only be the equivalent of *kāryālayaḍaḷu* (=of). He was trusted in political as well as spiritual matters, as was customary.

Chapter Three, Note 1 (p. 41). *Permāḍi Sinda and the Hoysaḷa*.

Fleet's editions of Sinda inscriptions are of the greatest value. Here, however, he has not been entirely successful. In his trans-



literation of J.B.B.R.A.S. xi 239-46 (1130) we do not find *Hadiya-ghaṭṭa*, for which he wrongly reads *Vāhaḍi*.... For that part of the *Sahyādri* see E.C. iv Nagamangala 28 (c. 1125). Likewise for *anitum aṇaṭṭijiyim* one must read *anituman oṭṭajiyim* (cf. E.C. v Belur 119 [c. 1180]). See W.E. i ff. 282b-284b (1104).

For the early dating of Permāḍi's father Ācugi see W.E. i f. 375b (1122) also J.B.B.R.A.S. xi 247, D.K.D. p. 574, and Sewell, H.I.S.I. p. 392. The valuable Sinda inscription W.E. i ff. 282b-284b (1104), which one must avoid dating 1164, was unknown to Moraes and not utilized by Dr Raychaudhuri.

Chapter Three, Note 2 (p. 43). *Viṣṇuvardhana and Rāmānuja*.

It was long believed that the Vaiṣṇava Saint Rāmānuja, to whom all the Iyengars look as the founder of their sect, was driven from the Tamil country by Śaivite persecution and took refuge with the Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana, whom he converted to Vaiṣṇavism from Jainism. This tradition is in no sense contrary to possibility or even probability. But much of the embroidery upon the tradition, namely that Rāmānuja converted Viṣṇuvardhana by means of curing his daughter's insanity, or adverting to certain superstitions of the Jains which affected the king himself, and that he destroyed Jaina *bastīs* and built a tank with the stones, and ground Jains in oil-mills: such accumulations of legend cannot now be substantiated by evidence, and have about them an improbable ring. On the other hand, evidence has recently come to light which demolishes a further embellishment of the tradition which had previously gained credence. It was to the effect that Viṣṇuvardhana had been known as *Biṭṭi-dēva* before his conversion, had adopted the former name after it, and had repaid his debt to his teacher by attacking the Śaivite Cōḷa at Talakāḍ in 1117. An inscription found at a place to the south of Mysore city published in M.A.R. 1944, 11 is dated 1098 and speaks of an *agrahāra* founded by or named after Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysaḷa, undoubtedly our Viṣṇuvardhana. *Biṭṭi* is a pet name for Viṣṇu; and though the Hoysaḷas and their spouses were brought up by Jaina teachers in the 10th and 11th centuries, this was because good teachers of other persuasions were scarce in those parts at that period. However, the tradition concerning Rāmānuja is of respectable antiquity and is mentioned in several Kannaḍa works collected by Colonel Mackenzie, and, if we defer a decision on its truth, we may rest content with not discrediting or unnecessarily embroidering it. In this light one may read with profit A. N. Krishna Aiyangar's article in Q.J.M.S. xxxi pp. 426-34 on the contribution of Mysore to Vaiṣṇavism in South India.

Chapter Three, Note 3 (p. 43). *Ballāla's disease.*

Here and there one comes across a tradition that a Ballāla was cured of a disease by a Jaina sage named Cārukirti. In inscriptions this is mentioned in E.C. ii 254 (1398) and 258 (1432), cf. *ibid.*, p. 63. On the whole it seems more likely that Ballāla III or even Ballāla IV benefited from such healing. Otherwise we would be sure to find the fact mentioned in inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgola earlier than 1398; it is indeed remarkable that half a century has to elapse after the disappearance of Ballāla IV before a mention of the cure is found.

Chapter Three, Note 4 (p. 58). *Viṣṇuvardhana in Belvola.*

Sirūr is at 75°47' E 15°22' N. The record, which is S. I. I. xi pt. 2, 207=B. K. No. 91 of 1927-8, might easily have been ignored, for it is mutilated, but the ascription is beyond controversy and is most valuable confirmation of Viṣṇuvardhana's boasts and titles. Its discovery tends to prove that one can be too hasty in rejecting wide, apparently conventional, claims.

Chapter Three, Note 5 (p. 67). *The god Śiva named after the person who erects the Liṅga.*

Without a word of explanation it might be supposed that if the Hoysaleśvara, or Liṅga of Śiva dedicated by the Hoysala, or in the name of the Hoysala, were the product of a figment of the king's own brain, it would be tantamount to an admission that the medieval Indian king was a 'divine king'. This, of course, was not the case. The custom of naming a Liṅga either after the person who had the temple built and the consecration performed or a nominee of his, as is exemplified in the grant reproduced on p. 209 above, was indeed not unconnected with vanity, since by this means the donor achieved a kind of immortality. This was not certain, as in the case of the temple at Kaṇṇanūr which was built to house a Liṅga called Poysaleśvara; in course of time the name became corrupted to Bhōjēśvara. But notoriety was achieved for a century at least. However, as the former example shows, the custom was utilized by subjects as well as kings, and was of little religious significance, seeing that the Liṅga represented Śiva Mahādēva whatever name it went by, and the naming was intended to secure to the person named a perpetual access of bliss in the after-life.

Chapter Three, Note 6 (p. 68). *Nārasimha I's titles.*

The titles given to Nārasimha as a child have had the effect of bewildering historians and making them doubt whether his father did in fact die in 1142. Nārasimha is called Viṣṇuvardhana Nārasimha

in E.C. iii Nanjangud 110 (1148), E.C. iv Hunsur 143 (c. 1150), E.C. iii Malavalli 44 (c. 1150) (Kannaḍa text only), and E.C. v Channarayapatna 228 (1154); Viṣṇuvardhana-Hoyśaḷa-pratāpa-Nārasimha in E.C. v Arsikere 55 (1143), E.C. xi Tiptur 61 (1162), 66 (1163) and 32 (1164), E.C. iv Chamarajanagar 98 (1167), E.C. iv Hunsur 3 (1167), and M.A.R. 1912-13 para. 77 (1172); Viṣṇuvardhana-Hoyśaḷa in E.C. iv Chamarajanagar 20 (1142), E.C. v Arsikere 110 (1142), E.C. iv Nagamangala 94 (1142), E.C. v Belur 178 (1145), E.C. v Hassan 130 (1147), and E.C. vi Kadur 69 (1160). Vira-Gaṅga is found in E.C. vi Mudgere 3 (1144). It is doubtful whether E.C. vi Kadur 50 (1174) refers to Nārasimha I or to Ballāḷa II: Vira-Gaṅga-Hoyśaḷa-Viṣṇuvardhana-rāya. Neither E.C. vi Kadur 32 nor E.C. v Hassan 114 can be assigned without question to Biṭṭi-dēva. E.C. v Arsikere 58 (1139-40), with Vira-Gaṅga-Hoyśaḷa, may well belong to Nārasimha, likewise E.C. vi Kadur 79 (January 1140, camp=Belūr). The name Viṣṇuvardhana, which Biṭṭi-dēva bore as a personal name, Nārasimha bore as a title.

Chapter Three, Note 7 (p. 79). *Nārasimha lives on after his deposition.*

H.I.S.I. p. 116: 'On January 15, 1170, the Hoyśaḷa king Nārasimha died. So says an epitaph at Billahalli in N.W. Mysore.' But the record referred to, E.C. vii Channagiri 36, tells us that in January 1230 in the reign of Nārasimha II a certain *gaṇḍa* and perhaps others also died in battle. The interpretation of Sewell and S. K. Aiyangar defies the royal titles and the rules of Kannaḍa grammar. But when Nārasimha I did die is open to conjecture. Apart from the Jāḷevāḷe ceremony (see above, p. 93) he is found ruling in E.C. v Belur 114 (1173) and he is mentioned in E.C. iv Chamarajanagar 96 (c. 1174). He is found still ruling in the year Vikāri (1179) during the Vasudhāre troubles: M.A.R. 1927, 8 (see above, p. 85).

Chapter Four, Note 1 (p. 82). *Ballāḷa II and the Cōḷa of Heḷijēru.*

Our authorities for asserting that Ballāḷa subdued the Cōḷa are E.C. xi Challakere 21, S.I.I. vi 557, E.C. xii Sira 23, S.I.I. ix pt. 1, 269 and E.C. v Belur 119, all of about 1180. M.A.R. 1945, 24 (1177) at the important town of Huliyeṛu gives reason to believe that the Cōḷa had to be fought at some distance from his capital. Ballāḷa's clemency towards both Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa is well worthy of notice, and is characteristic of the regard which medieval Indian kings had for a kind of 'fair play', though it might be, and was in these cases, unprofitable. The village of Dēvadurga, which Ballāḷa claims (see above, p. 93) would at once be identified with the place of that name at 76°55'E 16°25'N, south of the Krishna, were it not so much further

north than Mānuve, for example, and isolated among villages presumably occupied by the Sēvuṇa (there is, however, no evidence of Sēvuṇa occupation). Ciñcīlu is admittedly further north, over to the west, but Viṣṇuvardhana probably reached that place, without being able to govern it for any length of time, whereas if Dēvadurga is correctly identified as above Ballāḷa certainly ruled there for a decade, and if he ruled there, there is no reason why he should not have ruled the whole Raichur *dōāb*. The publication of further epigraphs from Hyderabad State may clarify the matter.

Chapter Four, Note 2 (p. 85). *Alliance between Ballāḷa and the Kaḷacūri.*

The record is most interesting. It is E.C. v Arsikere 108 dated 1255, set up by a son-in-law of a son-in-law of Kuñjjanambi. That merchant 'pleased both the Hoysaḷa emperor in the South and Ballāḷa (= Vallabha) himself in the North, and formed an alliance between the two kings which was universally praised'. A comparison of dates shows that the Vallabha must have been Saṅkama; the other possibility, that the alliance was between Ballāḷa and the Cālukya Sōmēśvara, seems entirely unnatural and can hardly be credited without better authority than this. In 1183 Ballāḷa fought with Sōmēśvara.

Chapter Four, Note 3 (p. 89). *Ballāḷa II's era:*

There are 23 inscriptions dated in an era commencing in 1190: the earliest is A.R. 1928-9, 187 (1197) and the latest is A.R. 1926-7, 52 (1212); there are three which are dated in an era commencing in 1191, of which the earliest is A.R. 1934-5, App., 36 (1194); while slight errors of calculation are found in four inscriptions ranging from 1202 to 1212 which appear to have 1189 as the first year of the era; again errors of reading and composition account for six anomalous dates.

Chapter Four, Note 4 (p. 107). *Sōmēśvara and the Cōḷa country.*

(i) Information from inscriptions.

Sōmēśvara's mother was Kāḷala-dēvi, wife of Nārasimha: E.C. v Arsikere 123 (1237) (cf. S.I.I. iv 421 c. 1249). She is called Kālāvati in the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta*.

Sōmēśvara called Sōmalā (Sōvala-dēvi) his mother. In E.C. v Arsikere 123 (1237) we read:

vanaja-dalēkṣaṇe guṇa-maṇ =  
 ḍane Sōvala-dēvi Sōvi-dēvaṅge jagad =  
 vinutaṅge kūrmameyīṇ tāy  
 cne permmege tāne dal tavarmaney ādaḷu.

'Sōvala-dēvi, she of the eye like a lotus-leaf, adorned with good qualities, was in truth herself the native home of greatness, because she was in affection a mother to the world-famous Sōvi-dēva.'

Moreover an inscription at Jambukēśvaram near Śrīraṅgam dated in the reign of Vīra-Sōmēśvara-dēva registers exemption from taxation granted by the king from his sixth year on the land endowed by *Avvai* Sōmalā-mahādēvi to certain charities (A.R. 1937-8, 5 [1239]). This is clearly the same person as the Sōmalā-mahādēvi, daughter of the Hoysala King Vīra-Vallāla-dēva (Ballāla II) who purchased land in Pērūr Cīrudavūr of the Rājārāja-vaḷa-nāḍ in the sixth year of the Emperor of the entire Earth, Vīra-Sōmēśvara-dēva (A.R. 1937-8, 6 [1239]). *Avvai* means 'mother', though it was not apparently confined to that meaning. Again, a record near Tirugōkarnam speaks of Sōmalā-dēviyār as *Mātā* (unquestionably 'mother') of Sōmēśvara-dēvar, the son of Pōsaḷa Vīra-śrī-Nārasiṅga-dēvar of Dōraisamuttiram (Nārasiṅha II). This last is S.I.I. vii 1043 (1226) or Pd. 183 (where the date appears to be 10 years later).

(ii) Information from the *Gadyakarnāmṛta*.

The *Gadyakarnāmṛta*, an account of which is found in M.A.R. 1924 para. 70 and ff. (see also M. R. Kavi in *Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara* vi, pp. 677 and ff. and also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Cholas*, ii, pp. 179-83), is a work upon which reliance may be placed with some caution (see above, p. 215 and below, p. 229). On this topic we find the following passage on p. 56 of the S.O.A.S. copy:

racita-cauḷa-karmaṇi kumāre mātṛkām abhyasati putre  
'vātsit Sarasvatī. atrāntare kenāpi karmaṇā dēvi Kalāvati  
kāla-vaśam ayāsit. rājā' pi nigṛhya (?) kumārasya samvardhane  
tataḥ purastāt pratipālane Padmāvatīm dhātrīm nyāyojayat.  
svayam-abhitaś=ca tasyākarod upanayanādītān sarpakārān.

'When the boy's tonsure ceremony had been performed and he was learning the alphabet the Goddess of Learning took up her abode in the child. Afterwards by reason of some 'act' (performed or ? omitted) Queen Kalāvati obeyed the command of Death. The king himself, closely concerned (?) with the boy's growing up, from then onwards appointed Padmāvatī as nurse to look after him. And in his own presence he (had) performed the ceremonies commencing with *upanayana*.'

From this we learn that Kālāla-dēvi died soon after the performance of the tonsure ceremony, which should take place either in the first or the third year (Manu II, 35). Since he is set to learn his alphabet soon afterwards, to judge from the juxtaposition of the topics above, it seems more likely that the tonsure was performed in the third year. On the death of the child's mother he was handed over to Padmāvatī, who, since she is not called 'dēvi', was probably

not another of Nārasimha's queens. The choice of a rival wife of Kājalā as a foster-mother would in any case not recommend itself. Therefore this Padmāvati must be Padmalā, Nārasimha's own mother and Sōmēśvara's grandmother. Nothing would be more natural. Now Nārasimha's full sister, Sōmalā, was married to a king, who must have been the Cōla, before 1210: she is called *rāṇī* in E.C. v Channarayapatna 243 (1210) and in E.C. v Arsikere 123, and *mahādēvi*, which likewise means 'queen', in A.R. 1937-8, 6 (1239). She was widowed in 1217-18 on the death of Kulōttunga. Padmāvati, his grandmother, then, must have looked after Sōmēśvara between his third year and his ninth, let us say, when he was sent down to the Tamil country to stay with his father's sister. She may well have been present still at Dōrasamudra when he was born, and he would be in perfectly safe keeping with her or her mother. On the other hand, the statement that the ceremonies, or *samshkāras*, commencing with the *upanayana*, 'thread-ceremony', were the special concern of his father who had them performed in his presence, suggests that he was fetched back from the Tamil country for these purposes. The author carefully says 'commencing with *upanayana*', and we are later told that arrangements for Sōmēśvara's marriage were interrupted by the troubles in the Tamil country. The implication is that Nārasimha took a closer interest in his son from the age when the thread-ceremony should be performed (11-15 years: Sōmēśvara's sons were, it seems, *upanīta* at 15) and was proceeding to the next stage, which is marriage, as soon as Sōmēśvara's (symbolical) Vedic 'education' was over.

Sōmēśvara was probably born in 1206, for we first hear of him in inscriptions in the year 1216, when he was mentioned as the son of Nārasimha, who was then, of course, still Yuvarāja (E.C. vi Kadur 111). Thus Kājalā must have died in or about 1209, and Padmāvati assumed charge of the infant until about 1215 when he would be between nine and ten. His thread-ceremony might have been performed soon afterwards, and when his father was sent by his grandfather, Bālāja II, down to the Tamil country for the first time, he almost certainly accompanied him. The formative years were then spent in the company of his recently-widowed aunt. It is not, indeed, impossible that Padmāvati died between 1209 and 1215, in which case the boy may have been sent to the Cōla capital even earlier; but the *upanayana* may well have been performed as late as 1221, a possibility which the phrasing of this passage in the *Gadyakarnāmṛta* suggests. The author of that work was not concerned to emphasize Sōmēśvara's sentimental connexion with the Tamil country; on the contrary his aim and that of Mallikārjuna seem to have been identical (see above, p. 127 and below, p. 230).

Chapter Four, Note 5 (p. 109). *The Jagannātha-vijaya.*

The well-known Kannada poet Rudrabhaṭṭa, assigned by the learned R. Narasimhacar (*Karpātaka-havi-caritre* i, 271) to about 1180, must have completed his *Jagannātha-vijaya* in 1219. This is one only of the many instances of the way in which the treasures of the Kannada classics may be arranged more accurately in chronological order. In this case the crucial point is the reference to the Cōla. The poet addresses the god Śiva in words that are appropriate to the Emperor Ballāḷa II, his patron:

Destroyer of his enemy Kāma (i.e. the Kadamba), having a bracelet composed of a mass of snakes ('having a Court filled with crowds of pre-eminent men'), devoted to the establishment of emperors ('of Rājarāja'), he who has the unbounded Ganges (Kāvēri or Tuṅgabhadra) thrown upwards in playful fashion, whose wrath is expended in the destruction of enemy cities, whose mark is the bull ('virtue'), praised by the learned, husband of the affectionate Umā, receptacle of overwhelming might:—may that Trinētra (Śiva) on the battlefield protect the Earth !

From this it follows that, as our epigraphical evidence confirms, Ballāḷa was amply proud of his intervention on behalf of Rājarāja and his father.

Chapter Four, Note 6 (p. 114). *Sēndamaṅgalam.*

There is a Sēndamaṅgalam in the Tindivanam tāluḷa, 48 miles east of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and about 20 miles from Teḷḷāṅṅu. V. Rangachari registers a number of Kāḍava inscriptions there. On the face of it this choice of the scene of the celebrated release of the Cōla is far from improbable. However, the present writer is indebted to Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri for the information that the indication given by Rangachari is incorrect and that the Kāḍava inscriptions are at the Sēndamaṅgalam in the Tirukkoyilur tāluḷa. Professor Sastri's recent visit to that spot confirmed the identification, and the result is perfectly satisfactory.

Chapter Five, Note 1 (p. 121). *Pandharpur.*

The late Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in the introduction to Mr Habib's translation of Amīr Khusrāu's *Khazā'in ul Futūḥ*, says (p. xxx) that Pandharpur was the frontier between the Hoysala and Sēvūṇa kingdoms. This is on the face of it extremely unlikely, and has nothing to support it. But the Bombay Gazetteer (1884), vol. xx, p. 420, mentions the inscription of the Hoysala Sōmēśvara at Pandharpur and gives us to understand that he conquered the ruler

of the country around and encamped at Pandarige on the bank of the Bhīmarathī, making a gift to the god Viṭṭhala out of yearly presents of the people of Hiriyagarañja, which was tentatively identified with Pulunj, 5 miles east of Pandharpur. This is based upon an epigraphical report reproduced in part in the Bombay Archaeological Report for 1897-8 (p. 5). A fresh examination of the inscription was made recently for the Kārṇāṭaka Inscriptions series, and a report appeared in the A.R. 1940-1 (Bombay-Kārṇāṭaka) No. 91. This suggests that Sōmēśvara actually camped in the neighbourhood of Pandharpur. Through the kindness of Vidyāratna R. S. Panchamukhi the present writer was able to see the actual rubbing, and no trace of any claim to have conquered the country round about could be found. The record is seriously damaged, but the significant part of the *prasti* is clear: Sōmēśvara does *not* claim to be ruling the country in which Pandharpur is situated. His full titles appear, but as those of a donor. With this inscription should be read M.A.R. 1920, para. 75; the embassy went from Hampe to Pandharpur. It seems certain that they bought a village near Pandharpur and gave it as an endowment. The stone record, now in an obscure spot, was originally in such a position that the Hoysala king's prowess was displayed before every Kannaḍa-reading pilgrim to the shrine of the god Viṭṭhala, and there were more of them then than there are now, seeing that Pandharpur is no longer in Kārṇāṭaka. See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, iv, 1953, 712-22.

Chapter Five, Note 2 (p. 131). *The Bāṇa and the Pāṇḍya*.

S.I.I. viii 134 has a reference to Tiruccendūr as well as to Madura 'of the handsome (Sundara) Pāṇḍya'. S.I.I. viii 135 is another Bāṇa inscription, the author of which was Sakalavidyācakravartī, who likewise composed A.R. 1925, 367-374 at Nārattāmpundi. At Kuḍumiyāmalai the Bāṇa inscriptions are Pd. 673-678 and A.R. 1906, 383.

The most serious argument against assigning this brief rise of the Bāṇa to the period of the civil war between Sundara and Vīra Pāṇḍya is offered by the connexion between the Bāṇa and the author Sakalavidyācakravartī. It is believed that at least two persons used that title, but nothing conclusive is known now which would resolve the present difficulty, and, until it appears, the interpretation offered in this book seems adequate and may stand in default of a better. Sakalavidyācakravartī, the author of the *Gadyakarmāṃṣa*, was almost certainly the same as the author of the two records mentioned above, since other titles tally. If we could assign a date to the *Gadyakarmāṃṣa* we should be further forward in solving the problem. The two dates which spring to the mind as suitable are 1252 and 1257.



For in essence that prose effusion is an attempt to elevate Sōmēśvara into a saviour of the 'race of Saḷa', a ruler with a mission in Kuntala, the son of a famous dispenser of justice among the Tamilians in the southern plains, whose birth was more or less a miracle, and whose position in the Hoysala family was significant even for a significant family in the history of India. The narrative is somewhat buried beneath a superstructure of divine interest and interposition, with gods and sages taking a hand in the fortunes of the peninsula, but from sundry statements and omissions it is evident that Sakalavidyācakravarti intended to insist upon the fact that Sōmēśvara was a Hoysala emperor and not a Tamilian ruler. For instance we hear nothing of any other capital but Dōrasamudra. The year 1257 would not be inappropriate since the defeat and disgrace of the Hoysala might be softened by the recollection of the family's real mission, and an account of Nārasimha's defeat of the Pāṇḍyas. But perhaps the year 1252 is more appropriate, as it saw Sōmēśvara at Dōrasamudra, trying to adjust himself to his ejection from Kappanūr and wondering whether to attempt to retake it by force. The efforts of Mallikārjuna in this context have been mentioned above (p. 127). If, therefore, the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* were written in 1252-3, the success of the Bāṇa cannot be put off until later than 1257. Such a conclusion might be arrived at even if that work were composed in 1257 itself. On the other hand a Sakalavidyācakravarti is mentioned in S.I.I. iv 499, which is a record of 1269. By this time, if it were the same man, which seems not unlikely, he had offered his panegyrical services to the Pāṇḍya. Even if he were the author of the inscriptions at Tiruvannāmalai and Nāratāmpundi we should be little nearer the civil war between Sundara and Vira Pāṇḍya, which began about 1310.

The only extant copy of the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta*, to be seen at the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore (the S.O.A.S. copy was taken from it), gives no clue as to whether its author was a Karṇāṭaka man or a Tamilian. It seems highly likely that he was a Tamilian patronized by Sōmēśvara during his residence at Kappanūr.

#### Chapter Five, Note 3 (p. 133). *Rates of interest.*

Rates of interest given to depositors could be astonishingly high, and seem to have fluctuated with the political security of the times. The whole of the Hoysala period was, viewed from a distance, a period of expansion in Karṇāṭaka, and the tendency towards an increase in the population was evidently fairly constant. Oil-sellers, goldsmiths and others were glad to increase their working capital, and the most favoured method of providing for the future was to make a deposit with such firms. The firms themselves clearly took the risk of a fall

in income when they promised a certain rate of interest. The following list is illuminating, as the fluctuations are closely attributable to political upheavals.

Date	Interest (per annum)	Source
1060	0.625 per cent.	E.C. xi Davangere 140.
1159	3.75 " "	E.C. vi Chikmagalur 41.
1169	75.00 " "	E.C. ix Channagiri 88b.
1172	0.25 " "	E.C. xi Davangere 33 (at Harihara)
1194	30.00 " "	E.C. v Arsikere 174.
1206	12.5 " "	E.C. ii 333.
1217-83	2.5 " "	E.C. vi Kadur 55a; M.A.R. 1931, 3; M.A.R. 1911-12, para. 92; E.C.x Bowringpet 32; M.A.R. 1920, para 76. (Was it restricted by edict?)
1285	10.00 " "	E.C. v Belur 161.
1297	0.5 " "	E.C. vi Tarikere 89.

The universality of the rates cannot be proved, but except in times of chaos commercial competition will have kept them stable over wide distances. For comparison one may note that in 1407, that is to say a little over half a century after the collapse of the Hoysala dynasty, the rate of interest obtainable was 30 per cent (E.C. iv Heggadadvankote 61 & 63).

#### Chapter Six, Note 1 (p. 150). *Paratūrāma-dēva*.

Amīr Khusrāu makes merry over the officer's title *dalavādyi* (general), much affected by the Karṇāṭaka officers under the Sēvuṇa of Dēvagiri. He says (pp. 137-8 of the 1927 edition) that Paras Dēv Dalvi 'was a bucket (Persian: *dalvi*) drawn up by the servants of the Presence, and wanted some water from the Bīr (Vīra) of Dhōr (Dhōr-samundar = Dōrasamudra) and Bīr Pandya, and wanted to put both the *bīrs* (wells) together with the ocean (or "their waters") into (his) water-pot'. In another place (p. 141) he speaks of the capital in these terms: 'It was not Dhōr-i-Samandar ( ? sea of ages) but a pool named Bīr, having become an ocean surrounding on every side a "perfidious Bīr" (or "well of a pond")'. You would say that it had its firm foundation in the middle of the round Sun, its destruction being small despite the passing round of full cups.' Then, in a paragraph headed, 'Look at the water-creatures!', he speaks of the inhabitants of Dōrasamudra: 'The belief of the inhabitants of that fort was based on watery customs. Through the body of all, on account of the confusion caused by the Army, there arose a trembling of the arms and legs, and from an apprehension of the hurlers of arrow-shafts, like fish having their

entrails full of thorns (fish-bones); and these terrified fish together, thumb to thumb (or "fish-hook to fish-hook" or "with sacred threads entwined"), having bound their shields on their backs, and put on their coats of mail, began to seethe and move up and down like the commotion of those water-creatures (?) housed in a pond. The Rāi Balāl-dēv, turning pale like drowning men from terror of the flood of the Sultan's heart (the Army), his heart palpitated from fear like the dewlap of a frog, and, as he crept within the *bīr*, he made to fly windy babblings in his outlandish speech: what answer should I give to the heart of the Shah? And so on. It is true that Dōrasamudra was the more difficult to take by assault on account of the number of tanks which must have been incorporated into its defence system; three of them are still to be seen today. Amīr Khusrau follows up his pun on Paraśurāma-dēva's title rather further than modern taste would approve; his suggestion that the latter had designs on Vira Pāṇḍya's country below the Ghats does not seem very probable.

Chapter Six, Note 2 (p. 151). *The death of Māḡavarman Kulāśekhara Pāṇḍya.*

Amīr Khusrau tells us (p. 138) that Sundara Pāṇḍya, the younger brother, killed his father (and perhaps an uncle, for he uses the plural) and was about to be set upon by 'Bīr Pāṇḍyā' when 'Balāl-dēvā' formed the intention of plundering both the cities (i.e. Madura and Vīradhāvaḷam). At this point news of the arrival of Malik Nāīb reached him. The impression he gives is that the murder of Sundara's father took place in early 1310. Waṣṣāf (Elliot and Dowson iii, p. 52 ff.; B. M. Add. 23517 ff. 435a-437b; Bombay text, pp. 528-9) tells us that Kulash-dēvar, the ruler of Ma'bar, enjoyed a prosperous reign of more than forty years free from foreign invasion. . . . Bīrah Bandī, his younger son, able though illegitimate, was chosen as his father's successor. Sundar Bandī, enraged at this, killed his father *towards the end of the year 709 (A.H.)*, that is, the spring of A.D. 1310. Further details follow which do not concern us here. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri gives Jaṭāvarman Vira Pāṇḍya the accession date c. 1296 and Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (iIII) c. 1303. A.R. 1939-40, 189 links Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's second year with *śaka* 1227 = A.D. 1305-6, while A.R. 1915, 608 makes *śaka* 1236 (A.D. 1314-15) his 12th year. Accordingly Sundara's reign must have started in 1303, and his resentment against his father may have been of longer standing than Waṣṣāf knew. As for the father, Māḡavarman Kulāśekhara, his 34th year was 1301 (I.A. xlv, p. 198) and his records range up to his 44th year (e.g. A.R. 1916, para. 30). Records of the fortieth year are not at all uncommon. The 44th year, however, takes us into 1311. Nevertheless

the chronology of the Pāṇḍyas is still (1953) in need of study, and the discrepancy may be resolved in other ways: e.g. A.R. 1916, para. 30 may in fact belong to Māgavarman Kulasekhara II. The overlapping of Sundara's and his father's reigns need not embarrass us. The 'Five Pāṇḍyas' were a large joint family (probably polyandrous) with several simultaneous 'heads'.

Chapter Six, Note 3 (p. 154). *Viradhāvaḷam*.

The identification is made at E.I. xxvii, p. 311. A.R. 1940, 381 is critical since it is found at Uyyakkonḍān-Tirumalai, but A.R. 1941-4, 242, A.R. 1940-1, 258 and A.R. 1930, 319 also have a bearing on the identification. The epigraphists at Ootacamund are believed not to be entirely satisfied with it, but its situation is perfectly satisfactory from the point of view of the Muslim historians' mention of the city. Viradhāvaḷam is Amir *Khusrau's* Birdhöl. Abu'l Fidā in his *Taqwīm ul Buldān* (p. 355) says that Biyyirdāwal was then—the middle of the 14th century—the capital of Ma'bar. The Index by Muīn ud-dīn to the *Nuzhat ul Khawātir* of the modern writer 'Abd al Haiy shows Bihirwal as a small village in Southern India in the province of Madras, but the map places it impossibly in the neighbourhood of Kāñci.

Chapter Six, Note 4 (p. 155). *Kannaḍa record on Malik Nāib's invasion of 1311*.

The record at Dudda, E.C. v Hassan 51 (1311), is dated in the month Māgha of the year Saumya, in other words January 1310. This year is very improbable: the answer seems to be that it was set up in the year Virōdhikṛt, which began in March 1311, and the author had probably forgotten that the previous year, in which Malik Nāib had besieged Dōrasamudra, was Sādhārāṇa and not Saumya. Such oddities in dating are known to occur from time to time; they make us wonder how many more may be undetected.

Chapter Seven, Note 1 (p. 177). *Disintegration of the kingdom*.

E.C. v Channarayapatna 191 & 229 and E.C. iv Heggadadevankote 23 are examples of the king clearly ruling with a minister as a deputy or subordinate. E.C. v Arsikere 31,\* E.C. xii Gubbi 30, and E.C. xi Chitaldrug 4 seem to be examples of a divided responsibility evidencing decay.

Chapter Seven, Note 2 (p. 193). *The king as the sole owner of land*.

The point is not entirely theoretical, for it had practical bearings. It must be remembered that the theory of land-tenure even in England

\* See above, p. 210.

in medieval times scouted the idea of individual ownership of land in the absolute sense. Ownership, after all, is a conception, and the power of the medieval tenant was seldom less full than that of a medieval English landowner, say, upon a knight-service tenure. Dr Altekar (*Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 236-41) took the view that the king did not claim ownership of land except that held privately by him. He is followed in this by A. P. Karmarkar and Prof. Nilakanta Sastri.

Their view is contrary to the general sense of medieval Indian constitutional thought. Vijñāneśvara, in the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya I, 318-320, is perfectly explicit. The Pārthiva ('Lord of the Earth, King') must cause written evidence of his gift of land to be made; the use of the word Pārthiva, he says, is in order to indicate that the *bhū-pati*, 'lord of the land', has the right to make gifts of land or annuities of its produce (*nibandhas*), not a mere *bhoga-pati*, 'lord of enjoyment, or possession'. The expression *bhoga-pati* does not refer merely to mortgagees or sub-tenants, otherwise there would be no point in the learned author's insistence that the significance of 'pārthiva' lies in the king's character as owner of the land. When the king made a gift accompanied by the right of gift, sale and mortgage, it was not necessary to consult him when the donee wanted in his turn to make a gift. In the majority of cases, however, a donee from the king was obliged to take the latter's permission before he could permanently alienate land, and many of the surviving *sāsanas* record the giving of this permission. The contrary view, namely that the *bhoga-patis* in Vijñāneśvara's text were really owners and not tenants, appears to be supported by two passages, one from the *Vyavahāra-mayūkha* of Nīlakaṇṭha-bhaṭṭa, and the other from Mādhava (Vidyāranya) on the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra of Jaimini in the *Nyāya-mālā-vistara*. In the first we are told that the *svatva* or property in the individual villages, fields and so on of the whole circle of the Earth (or of a whole country) exists in the *bhaumikas*, or 'landed persons', in each case, while the king has merely the right to collect revenue (p. 91 of Kane's edition). Here he merely begs our question, since the exact meaning of *svatva* is in dispute and the word *bhaumika* is not insignificantly vague. In fact all the *svāmīs* in whom resides *svatva* or property in relation to an object were merely persons with greater rights of disposal over that object than others, the *udāsīnas*. A father might be a *svāmi* with regard to land he had acquired, but the *svāmitva* of his sons and sons' sons would cut down his powers of disposal so severely that he could no longer be called owner in the English sense of that word—yet he was still a *svāmi* to a Hindu. Rights of disposal and enjoyment were conceded to the subject as a matter of necessity, but the king's right to take land-revenue was based in

theory not on his duty to protect, but on his ownership. Nilakanṭha not improperly shows us that in practice the king's right over land other than that held by him personally manifested itself generally in the mere form of tax-gathering. This was of much importance when Hindu districts had been conquered or ceded to a Muslim ruler. Mādhava, discussing the Viśvajit sacrifice, explains (p. 358) that it would be improper to hold that when a king performs this sacrifice he should be able to convey away his whole country, though it is generally thought of as 'his' in a certain sense: his position is one rather of protecting the Earth and those whom it nurtures, and thus he can give away only parcels of land which he holds privately. This is a matter of common-sense, since no one would seriously believe that a king, desiring spiritual bliss, should make a sacrifice involving the giving away of all property, to the effect that the entire livelihood of his subjects should pass into the hands of a few priests. But if we were to ask Mādhava whether the king might give a village to a Brahmin, the answer would undoubtedly be, yes. In fact Mādhava says, *ato asādhāraṇasya bhū-khaṇḍārya satyapi dāne mahābhūmer dānam nāsti*, 'hence while a gift of a parcel of non-common land is possible, no gift of the Earth in its wide sense can take place'. It is possible for the king to give away a village purchased, passing to him by escheat, captured by him in war, or owned by his family for generations, but what if he gives a village or land in an area which his followers peacefully take over, let us suppose, in a deserted region? If he does not own it how can he give it, since one who has no property in a thing cannot generally, and could then never, cause property to come into existence in a donce? Moreover, *dharmatāstis* are not really in doubt as to the existence of the king's *svatva*, the ultimate and fundamental right which could co-exist with the relevant *svatvas* of the *bhauṃikas*, for upon this the very eminent Śrī Kṛṣṇa Tarkālaṅkāra (c. 1750) and the very learned Jagannātha Tarkapañcāna (c. 1790) are agreed; and the doubts expressed by Priya Nath Sen show signs of bias.

Consequently we are driven back to the old position that whereas the tenants had wide powers of enjoyment and disposition, the famous *aṣṭa-bhōga-tējas-svāmīya*, the ultimate owner was the sovereign for the time being. If he chose to give the country to a foreigner or commit any such foolish or immoral act in abuse of his ownership\* the subjects' only remedy was to revolt. After all, that was a sufficient remedy, and the fear of its application must often have prevented calamitous follies.

\*That such an act was not utterly inconceivable is plain from the terms of the hyperbolic statement in E.C. v Belur 93 (71133-4) that Viṣṇuvardhana invaded Uchāṅgi and other lands of his enemies since he 'had given away in religious gifts the whole of his own territory'.

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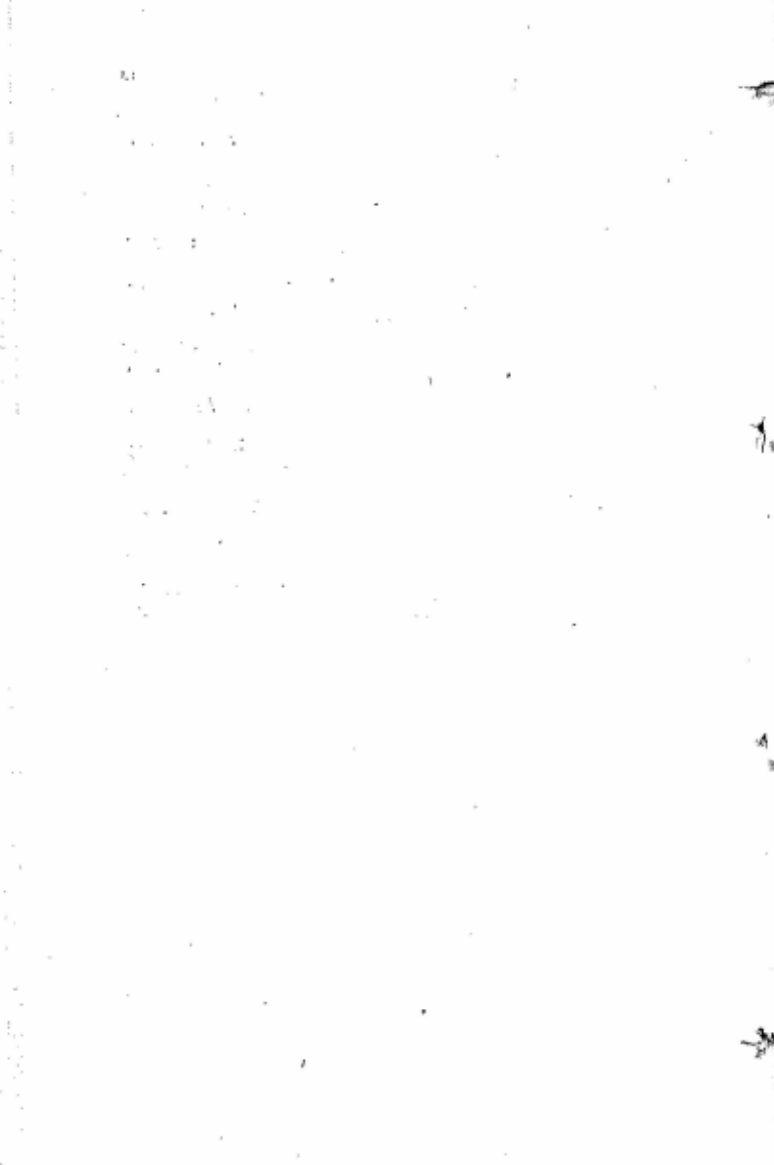
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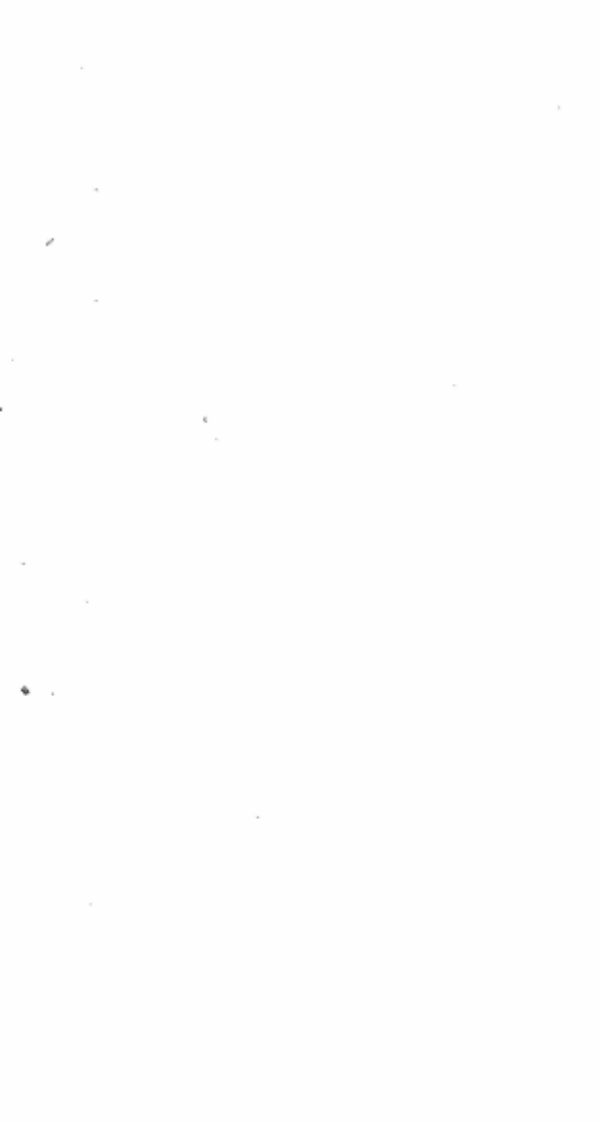
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